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GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION AND CHURCH:

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. AUGUSTUS NEANDER,

BY

JOSEPH TORREY,

PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

NEW EDITION, WITH A GENERAL INDEX.

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"I am come to send fire on the earth."—*Words of our Lord.*  
"And the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is." "But other foundation  
can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus."—*St. Paul.*  
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2. *John Huss, the Bohemian Reformer.*

NEXT after these reformers, or men inspired with the spirit of reform, came the individual through whose instrumentality it was that the more general and violent movement for which the way had thus been prepared broke forth in Bohemia.

John Huss was born, on the 6th of July, 1369, at Hussinetz, a Bohemian village lying within the circle of Prachim and towards the borders of Bavaria. Descended from a poor family, he was early inured to labour and deprivation, and thus laid the foundation for those Christian virtues which afterwards distinguished him. He studied philosophy and theology at the university of Prague. This university, it is true, was a seat of churchly orthodoxy: but at the same time the antagonistic tendencies of two different nationalities seem already to have begun there gradually to unfold themselves—the strict church tendency of the Germans, as opposed to the more liberal one of the Bohemians: the teacher of Huss, Stanislaus of Znaim, belonging to the more liberal party, as we shall hereafter see. In the year 1396, Huss received his master's degree, and began himself to lecture, at the university, in the year 1398. A man, however, of his Christian seriousness and deep-seated piety, must certainly have felt himself shocked and repelled by the worldly lives of the degenerate Bohemian clergy and monks, and driven, in this way, into a more confirmed habit of communing with himself and seeking after God. We have seen indeed how, ever since the times of John Militz, an opposition had been springing up between the great majority of worldly priests and a smaller company earnestly devoted to their holy vocation and to the cause of God among the Bohemian clergy. We have seen how Militz gave birth to a tendency that connected itself more closely with the New Testament, and how, in particular, Matthias of Janow directed attention to the apostolical church, and to a reform after the pattern of that church. Huss could not have remained unaffected by such influences. Between the two parties, then already struggling with each other in Bohemia, he must soon have

made his choice. The influence of Matthias of Janow's writings on his direction as a theologian is not to be mistaken. A circumstance which had much to do in moulding the religious character of Huss, and in beating the path for his active labours as a reformer, was his call to discharge the spiritual office in a sphere where he could obtain a more intimate knowledge of the religious needs of the people, and was brought into more immediate and living contact with them. In the year 1391, John of Milheim, a member of the royal council of Bohemia, and Creutz, a merchant (the latter of whom gave the real estate, a house which belonged to him, for the object), associated for the purpose of founding a chapel, to be devoted particularly to the preaching of the gospel in the vulgar tongue, for the benefit of the people. We have an example, here, of that practical Christian spirit which, since the time of Militz's labours, had been awakened among the laity in Bohemia, and to the existence of which Matthias of Janow bore his testimony, as we have seen. This spirit is also evidenced, in a remarkable manner, in the original title-deed of the foundation, which runs as follows: "The merciful God, who in the seed of his word has left behind him a provision for them that fear him, so ordered it, by the institutions of the fathers, that the preaching of God's word should not be bound, it being the freest as it is the most profitable act for the church and her members;" and then, after appealing for proof to Christ's words, the founder goes on to say: "For had he not bequeathed to us the seed of God's word and of holy preaching, we should have been like unto Sodom and Gomorrah. Christ moreover had given commission to his disciples, when he appeared to them after his resurrection, to preach the word, so as to preserve constantly in the world the living memory of himself. But since all his actions are doctrines to them that truly believe on him, he (the founder) had carefully considered that the city of Prague, though possessing many places consecrated to the worship of God and used for a variety of purposes connected with that worship, was still destitute of a place devoted especially to preaching; but preachers, particularly in the Bohemian tongue, were under the disagreeable necessity of strolling about for this purpose, to

houses and corners ; therefore the founder endowed a chapel consecrated to the Innocents, and named 'Bethlehem,' or the House of Bread, for the use of the common people, that they might be refreshed with the bread of holy preaching.* Over this church a preacher was to be placed as rector, whose special duty it should be, to hold forth the word of God, on every Sunday and festival day, in the Bohemian tongue.† It is a proof of the high reputation in which Huss already stood, and of the expectations excited by the peculiar bent of his religious character, that in the year 1401 he should be appointed the preacher over this foundation. His sermons, glowing with all that fervour of love from which they proceeded, and backed up by a pious, exemplary life, coupled with gentle and amiable manners, made a powerful impression. A little community gathered around him, of warm and devoted friends ; and a new Christian life started forth, from him, among the people. He became more intimately acquainted, as a curer of souls to the lower class of the people, with the corrupting influence of a religion reduced entirely to a round of outward ceremonies, and of the superstition which gave countenance and support to immorality, and was thus led to attack the sources of so much mischief, to dwell with increasing earnestness upon the essence of a practical Christianity, bringing forth its fruits from a principle seated in the heart, and to rebuke with emphatic severity the prevailing vices. So long as he chiefly attacked the corruption among the laity, he was left unmolested. The new archbishop of Prague, Zbynek of Hasenburg, appointed to that office in the year 1403, was not himself, by any means, a man of purely spiritual bent, but one accustomed to mingle freely in

* *Quam Bethlehem, quod interpretatur domus panis, censui appellandam hac consideratione, ut ibidem populus communis et Christi fideles pane prædicationis sanctæ refici debeant.* See Pelzel, *Account of the Life of King Wenceslaus*, Prague, 1788 ; Document No. 81, p. 103.

† Words of the Record of foundation respecting his duties: *Ut dictus capellanus ad sonum campanum diebus singulis ab ecclesia celebribus mane et facto prandio, et tempore adventus et quadragesimæ mane tantum horis solitis, et prout in aliis ecclesiis prædicari est consuetum, verbum Dei communi populo civitatis in vulgari Bohemico sit ad prædicandum astrictus.* P. 105.

secular affairs, and even to take a part in warlike enterprises; yet he was opposed to ecclesiastical abuses, and to the superstition therewith connected. He was desirous of introducing a stricter discipline into his diocese, and he must have had some knowledge of Huss, and have esteemed him as a zealous reformer; for in entering upon his duties as archbishop, he invited Huss to give him direct information of all the abuses which came under his personal observation; or, if he should not happen to be in Prague, to inform him by letter.* Accordingly he availed himself of the assistance and advice of Huss in an important transaction which took place soon after his entrance upon office, the object of which was to suppress a certain superstition and the abuses which had grown out of it. The matter was of this sort: at Wilsnack, in the district of Priegnitz, a church had been destroyed by a knight some time in the fourteenth century. Part of a stone altar had been left standing. In one of its cavities were found three wafers, coloured red, as if with blood; a phenomenon the like of which has often occurred from the earliest times, and which has as often, under various religions, been construed into the miraculous; but a phenomenon satisfactorily explained by more recent investigations into natural causes, it being now well known that bread and similar substances, long exposed to moisture, are wont to be covered with an animal product, the constituent parts of which are discernible only under the microscope, but which to the naked eye bears a close resemblance to blood.† But in these times, the remarkable appearance was regarded as a symbol of the blood of

* This is evident from a letter written by Huss to this archbishop at the time when a rupture had already taken place between the two men, in which he adverts to the invitation then given to him. His words are: *Sæpissime reitero, qualiter in principio vestri regiminis mihi pro regula paternitas vestra instituerat, ut quotiescunque aliquem defectum erga regimen conspicerem, mox personaliter aut in absentia per literam defectum hujusmodi nuntiarem.* This fragment of the letter was first published by the Bohemian historian, Palacky, in his *History of Bohemia*, III. 1, p. 216.

† See the extract from Ehrenberg's paper on the *Monas prodigiosa* in the *Monthly Report of the Academy of Sciences*, in Berlin, for October, 1848.

Christ. The report of so extraordinary a miracle created a great sensation: stories were soon circulated, of wonderful cures performed on the spot; numerous pilgrimages were made to it from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia. Various tricks would naturally be resorted to, in that age, by the corrupt clergy and monks, to help on the self-deception, which could not fail to be attended with great mischief to the religious and moral life of the people. Archbishop Zbynek appointed, therefore, a committee of three masters to inquire into the matter; and as their report was unfavourable to the pilgrims, the spurious character of those pretended miracles having been exposed, Zbynek put forth an order prohibiting all such pilgrimages from his own diocese. One of these masters was Huss, who probably had great influence in bringing about the decision.* This was his first opportunity of standing forth publicly against superstition, and it was done under the authority of the archbishop himself. He composed, on this occasion, his paper on the proper mode of regarding the glorified blood of Christ.† In this tract it is very evident that he was still entirely given to the prevailing doctrines of the church, even on the article of transubstantiation; but he ventured already to call in question the stories generally believed since the time of Paschasius Radbert, relative to the miraculous appearances of the body and blood of Christ. We already find in him a representative of the genuine Christian spirit, as opposed to the miracle-hunting spirit of his age. "The glorified body of Christ," he says, "exists dimensionally in heaven alone, though truly and really in the sacrament of the altar. Nothing that belonged to this body could be separated from it and present, by itself, alone upon earth. All that is said, therefore, about relics of Christ's body, or of his blood, as being present in this place or that, must be false. He who pretends to believe anything of this sort, dishonours the blood of Christ, no less than if he worshipped,

* Huss himself mentions this commission: *Etiam fuimus tres magistri deputati per dominum archiepiscopum ad examinandum homines, de quibus prædicabant fuisse facta miracula.* Fol. 162, 2.

† *Determinatio quæstionis, cum suo tractatulo de omni sanguine Christi glorificato.* Joannis Hus, Opera, Norimberg. 1558, tom. I. fol. 154, p. 2, seq.

under that name, the blood of a dead horse. But, alas!" he says, "the iniquity of greedy ecclesiastics has increased to such extent that messengers of Antichrist, following their master the devil, have exhibited their own blood as the blood of Christ, at the eucharist, and the same is adored by foolish and unbelieving Christians, who unbelievingly seek after wonders." He calls those who were seeking after such wonders more unbelieving than Thomas, because though after the Lord had shown himself to the unbelieving Thomas he believed, they would not believe on him even when glorified and exalted at the right hand of the Father, but required sensible signs of his presence. Christ was now hidden from sight, present only to faith: this constituted the essence of faith, the *meritum fidei*, that it takes hold of things hidden, invisible: this was therefore more wholesome and conducive to the life of religion than if the blood of Christ were visibly present. We ought confidently to believe that if it had been better for us to see Christ bodily present among us, he would not have deprived us of this privilege. But because faith would be destitute of merit, if accompanied with the experience of sense, therefore Christ with his blood has been pleased to withdraw himself from our sight. He applies to his contemporaries what St. Paul says of the sign-seeking spirit of the Jews, to whom Christ crucified was a stumbling block. Like Matthias of Janow, he is inclined to attribute the miracles with which the wicked clergy sought to delude the people, to evil spirits. The laity, by their confidence in such miracles, were drawn away from the essential thing, true love, and hardened in their sins. Like Matthias of Janow, he applies the words of Christ to those that would say, Lo! here is Christ, or there, to those who said, The blood of Christ is here, or it is there; they were not to be believed. Like Matthias of Janow, he looks upon those pious frauds, by which the laity were led astray, as the present secretly-working power of Antichrist, and applies to them what St. Paul, in the epistles to the Thessalonians, says of the workings of Antichrist. The faithful should, in a proper way, use all diligence to live simply according to the law of the gospel, and put no faith in fables and lying wonders, or

wonders actually wrought by evil spirits or wicked men. Thus would they, in a more quiet manner, grow confirmed in the faith of the Lord. Such miracles rendered it the more necessary for each individual to fortify himself with the word of God, so as to avoid being deceived by false prophets and false Messiahs, whose appearance Christ foretold. He cites one example of fraud:—A citizen of Prague, with a lame hand, had hung up a silver hand as a votive offering, in honour of the bloody wafers in Wilsnack. Wishing, however, to test the honesty of the priests, he stayed three days in the place; but before the time expired, he must hear how a priest had publicly referred to this offering of the silver hand, as a proof of the miraculous cure of the lame one. The citizen of Prague convicted him of the falsehood by showing his hand, which remained as lame as ever. And for the truth of this statement, Huss appeals to the testimony of many who knew the person referred to. "Truly," he says, "if the priests faithfully observed Christ's evangelical counsel and preached *Christ's words* to the people, rather than lying wonders, our gracious Saviour would guide the steps of both priests and people out of the bad way, the way of sin and falsehood." He complains that, in their distresses, people were more inclined to invoke help from the blood of Christ than from God, and to place their hopes upon a mere creature than upon the Creator. Even now, says he, it is not easy to find a district which is not famous for some appearance of the blood of Christ. The worst transgressors, robbers and the like, were made to feel secure in sin by their confidence in such blood, and these were the best patrons and friends of this miraculous blood, though they persecuted Christ himself, and unrighteously shed his blood, in his members.

The archbishop had directed the curates to announce on every Sunday that the pilgrimage to Wilsnack was forbidden on pain of the ban.

But though the young archbishop stood at the beginning on these friendly terms with Huss, still we might be led to presume, from the different spirit of the two men, that it would be impossible for them to unite their efforts in promoting reform except to a *certain extent*, and that an

occasion might easily arise in which this *internal* opposition would be forced to show itself by some *outward* manifestation. It was impossible that Huss, with the spirit of reform by which he was actuated, should stop short at the bounds which the archbishop from the position which he occupied would be apt to prescribe to himself. In connection with the antagonism of the reform and anti-reform tendencies existing in the movements of the time, it would not be long before such an occasion must present itself. Aside from the political interests, which afterwards became mixed in, Huss could not fail in the end to be involved by his very principles of reform, which led him farther than he could calculate upon, in a quarrel with the archbishop. For Huss, who was governed solely by the religious interest, would be continually led by it to take one step after another in his attacks on the corruption of the church; whilst, on the other hand, Zbynek was induced by reasons of policy to stop short, as soon as he had any grounds to apprehend that he was coming into conflict with the hierarchical system. Huss needed no excitement from without to keep his zeal for reform in vigorous activity. One thing, moreover, which must have had great influence in giving the turn to his theological development, was, that he had diligently devoted himself to the study of the Bible, of the old church fathers, particularly Augustin, in whose writings he seems to have been deeply read, and of Robert of Lincoln;—of all which we have abundant evidence in his writings. In the ideas thrown out by Matthias of Janow, the needful matter had already been supplied; and from these alone, without any additional influence from Wickliff, a contest might in these times easily evolve itself, capable of being pushed to any extreme by the opposition of the great anti-reform party. Whatever lies involved in principles that have once found entrance into human consciousness, is ever shaped forth and carried still further out by the movements of history. We find in the principles of Janow the incipient germ of the whole reform movement in Bohemia; and it might have remained wholly national, wholly independent of the English spirit. And, in fact, we may constantly observe this difference, that, in the theology of Oxford, the speculative spirit was the predominant one;

while the Bohemian reform, from those first promoters and representatives of it, whose characters we have already described, had taken an altogether practical direction. It is true, that so far as regards the consequences which outwardly manifested themselves at first, it had great influence, as it will hereafter appear that the reform spirit in Prague stood in some connection with the opinions of Wickliff, denounced as heretical. The reform movements in Bohemia would not, perhaps, separated from this connection, have risen so suddenly to so great importance; still we cannot on this account agree with those who ascribe to Wickliff's writings so great an influence on the development of the reform opposition to the hierarchy in Bohemia. It is, moreover, of great importance here, to anything like a right understanding of the phenomena of the religious and theological spirit, to distinguish well internal and external causes, internal and external connections. And if, on the one hand, through the influence of Wickliff's writings, and the connection of the movements originating with Huss with those excited by Wickliff, the position of the reform party in Bohemia afterwards became a dangerous one, still we must consider, on the other hand, that it was precisely owing to the way in which Huss connected himself with Wickliff, that a large number of friends and adherents were procured for him at the outset, whom he could hardly have gained by the purely reform and anti-hierarchical interest;—friends indeed, who, for the very reason that they did not sympathise at all with the interest for a purely Christian reform which actuated Huss from the beginning, did not harmonise with him in temper and spirit, and would on that very account be soon led to separate from him, and even to come out against him. Only so long as it was an affair of the school, and particularly of the philosophical school, and this affair was treated as a common cause of the nation, could they remain connected with him; but this very circumstance which, at the outset, gave to the party of Huss so great an ascendancy at Prague university, could not have existed independently of the connection between the reform tendency in Bohemia and the cause of Wickliff's school; as will be apparent from the facts now to be presented.

A Bohemian princess, Anna, sister to king Wenceslaus, had married Richard II., king of England.* This would of course lead the way to more familiar intercourse between the two nations; and the disciples of Wickliff, who were enthusiastic in their endeavours to diffuse the writings, the philosophical and theological doctrines, of their master, would assuredly not fail to take advantage of such an opening for this purpose. The connection also between the two flourishing universities, which doubtless, independently of this event, was a lively one, would be still more promoted by it. Young English theologians came from Oxford to Prague. Bohemians studied in Oxford, and were there seized with enthusiasm for the doctrines of Wickliff; though we should not lose sight of the fact, that Wickliff was not merely the representative of a particular theological bent, but also by philosophical writings, having no connection whatever with the theological interest, and particularly by his work already mentioned, which created an epoch of its own, the treatise on the reality of general conceptions, was one of the most important representatives of the philosophical school of realism; and, though with him, as we have seen, the philosophical and theological interest, philosophical and theological principles were intimately connected, yet this was not at all a necessary connection in itself; and one might adopt the philosophical opinions of Wickliff, esteem him highly as a philosopher, without agreeing with him on that account in his theological views. From this it is the more easily to be explained how Wickliff's writings might already for a long time have been considerably read at the university of Prague, without creating any ecclesiastical movements whatever, or rendering the orthodoxy of those persons suspected, who occupied themselves with the study of certain writings of Wickliff. Huss himself declares, in a paper composed about the year 1411,† that for thirty years, —therefore from the year 1381—writings of Wickliff were read at Prague university, and that he himself had been in

* She was in the habit of reading the New Testament; and carried with her to England a book of the gospels in the Latin, German, and Bohemian tongues. Comp. Palacky III. 1, p. 24.

† Replica contra Anglicum Joannem Stokes, Opp. I. fol. 108.

the habit of reading them for more than twenty years, that is, before the year 1391.*

It is evident, from what has been said, that the spread of Wickliff's writings in Prague fell within the last years of the life of Matthias of Janow; yet, although traces perhaps of a reference to doctrines of Wickliff may be discovered in his work already noticed, still he must have occupied himself but very little with them, and they must have exercised little or no particular influence on his mind. He pursued his course after an independent manner in the path to which the suggestions that came originally from Militz had conducted him. But Huss, as we may gather with certainty from his own language already cited, had at a very early period read many of Wickliff's writings. What attracted him in these writings was partly the philosophical realism, partly the spirit of reform as opposed to the secularisation of the church, of the monastic orders, and of the clergy, which they contained, and that inclination to adhere to the New Testament as the only source of doctrine, the striving after a renovation of the Christian life in the sense of apostolical Christianity. Let us hear the words of Huss himself on this point: "I am drawn to him," he says, "by the reputation he enjoys with the good, not the bad priests, at the university of Oxford, and generally with the people, though not with the bad, covetous, pomp-loving, dissipated prelates and priests. I am attracted by his writings, in which he expends every effort to conduct all men back to the law of Christ, and especially the clergy, inviting them to let go the pomp and dominion of the world and live with the apostles according to the life of Christ. I am attracted by the love which he had for the law of Christ, maintaining its truth and holding that not one jot or tittle of it could fail." † He mentions here in particular for illustration the

* Universitas ab annis triginta habet et legit libros ipsius Joan. Wicleff. Egoque et membra nostræ universitatis habemus et legimus illos libros ab annis viginti et pluribus. Replica contra, &c.

† Movent me sua scripta, quibus nititur toto conamine, omnes homines ad legem Christi reducere, et clerum præcipue, ut dimittendo sæculi pompam, dominationem vivat eum apostolis vitam Christi. Movet me affectus suus, quem ad Christi legem habuit, asserens de veritate ejus, quæ non potest in uno iota vel apice fallere. Ibid. fol. 109, 1.

book composed by Wickliff, on the truth of holy Scripture, in which he endeavoured to establish the validity of the law of Christ in its whole extent. And he then adverts to the fact that many of Wickliff's writings were on purely philosophical subjects, which, as they did not at all affect the truths of faith, could be read without danger. It is evident, therefore, that Huss agreed with Wickliff only up to that point to which his interest for reform had already led him in following the steps of Matthias of Janow. To Wickliff, as we have seen, his attack on the doctrine of transubstantiation, and his peculiar views of the Lord's supper, were of especial importance; but we do not perceive that these had had any particular influence on Huss. On this matter he never passed beyond what was simply practical;—as already seen, he gave special prominence to the spiritual fellowship with Christ, to the truth that he himself is the bread of the soul, without entering more minutely into the question about the relation of the bread and wine to the body and blood of Christ.* Huss may

* We find nothing in the writings of Huss which indicates that, in respect of this doctrine, he had, as Palacky supposes, (III. 1, s. 197 and 198), through the influence of Wickliff, been at least led to *waver*, and did not, till a later period, take a decidedly different view from Wickliff on this point. In general, we think we have not observed that Huss allowed himself to be determined in his doctrinal convictions at first more and afterwards less by the influence of Wickliff. It seems to us much more to correspond with the actual course of the development of his doctrinal opinions to suppose that he was led by his principles and the opposition which grew out of them, step by step farther away from the church tendency, and not that he was more decided in his opposition at the beginning, and afterwards grew milder. Even, on the occasion of his trial at Prague, in 1414, of which a protocol, drawn up by Peter of Mladenowitz, secretary to the knight of Chlum, has been published in the *Studien und Kritiken* (Jahrg. 1837, Heft 1), Huss absolutely repels the charge that he had ever attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation. Huss here declares that he could not possibly have spoken before the people in the Bohemian tongue on the *accidentibus sine subjecto*, because this language contained no terms whatever by which such a conception could be expressed: but he had said, guarding against any misinterpretation of his language, that as a man's body is veiled under his shirt, so the body of Christ is, in a certain sense, veiled beneath the form of the bread, and as the soul is concealed within the body, so the body of Christ is concealed under the figure of the bread. And he appeals for proof to the language of an ancient hymn, and to

have had the less hesitation about availing himself of the writings of Wickliff, inasmuch as two young men, who came from Oxford to Prague,—one an Englishman,* the other a Bohemian, probably the count Nicholas of Faulfisch, hereafter to be mentioned, had brought with them a document authenticated by the seal of the university of Oxford, in which Wickliff's orthodoxy was duly testified. Huss is reported to have read this document from the pulpit to his congregation as a testimonial in favour of that Wickliff who had been denounced as a heretic. Now it is evident, we admit, that such a declaration was altogether opposed to the spirit of the academical authorities who then ruled at Oxford. It was a forgery, to which the seal of the university had been fraudulently appended—the fabrication of false documents of this sort being at that time no un-

words of St. Augustin, which mark a distinction between that which faith perceives, and that which is manifest to the senses in the Lord's supper. That when he speaks of a *forma panis*, he means to intimate the remaining behind of the substance, cannot be proved. He affirms, that when he spoke of the remaining behind of the bread in the Lord's supper, he meant only Christ the heavenly bread, which is offered in the sacrament. Now we might, it is true, *suspect* that Huss took the liberty to conceal his real opinion in this ambiguous phraseology, or that he, at a later period, resorted to sophistical interpretations of the language earlier used by him; but still we shall find no ground whatever to accuse him of any such thing. It is, in fact, one of the particulars which characterise the practical bent peculiar to Huss, to give special prominence to the statement that Christ himself is the bread of the soul in the Lord's supper, and if now he ever laid the whole stress upon this, it may have been interpreted by his opponents as if he always spoke only of the bread present in the Lord's supper. In fact we find that Huss afterwards, in a paper hereafter to be cited, was actually under the necessity of vindicating himself against such a perversion of his language, and of explaining his real meaning.

* We have taken no notice of the story about a picture drawn by the two Englishmen on the walls of a room which they had hired, which exhibited the contrast between the worldly entrance of the pope into Rome, and the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, the so-called *Antithesis Christi et Antichristi*, and of the commotions to which it led; because we do not certainly know that the narrative of the Hussite historian, Theobald, which, in other respects, contains many inaccurate statements, is to be relied upon, and we have found in the writings of Huss himself no allusion whatever to this affair, which he is said to have touched upon in his sermons at that time.

common thing at Oxford;* but it is certain that Huss himself was deceived in this case; he could know nothing about this manufactory of false documents at Oxford, and his admiration of Wickliff might in this case easily incline him to believe without further examination.† Furthermore, the struggle for and against Wickliff, as well as the antagonism of realism and nominalism, was an affair of national interest. Under the emperor Charles IV., king of Bohemia, the founder of the university of Prague, many Germans had resorted thither, obtained important posts, and sought to gain on their own side the greatest influence at the university. This circumstance had excited great jealousy betwixt the two nations. Much enthusiasm was awakened at that time among the Bohemians for the maintenance of their own nationality in language and literature. Among the peculiar qualities of Huss belonged an ardent love of his country and people. His efforts for the cultivation of the Bohemian language and orthography were praised by those competent to judge, and his influence in this regard is said to have extended even to other Slavic populations.‡ Now as the Germans were zealous nominalists, so the Bohemians, on the other hand, were no less zealous realists, and the Bohemian theologians at the university were at first more inclined to the freer opinions and in favour of Wickliff. It was the Bohemian theo-

* The seal of the university of Oxford was much abused in those days. Petrus Paganus or Payne, a clergyman, had contrived to get it into his hands, and used it for the purpose of lending an appearance of authenticity to that paper got up in favour of Wickliff, as if it were an official document. See Wood, *Historia et Antiquitates, Universitatis Oxoniensis*, I. p. 203.

† When Huss, at his trial in Constance, on the 8th of June, was accused of publishing and using such a fraudulent document of Englishmen, he was able to make a clear and simple statement of the whole affair in justification of his conduct in the case, and to appeal to the testimony of his earlier like-minded friend, Stephen Paletz, who had been equally deceived with himself, and who now appeared at Constance as his accuser. Quumque confessus esset, propterea quod sub signo universitatis a duobus scholasticis allata esset, illicque etiam de iis scholasticis quaerent, respondit: Ille amicus meus (significabat autem Stephanum Paletz) alterum ex iis aequè novit atque ego, alter nescio qui fuerit. Hermann v. d. Hardt *Acta Concilii Constantiensis* tom. IV. p. 328.

‡ See Palacky, III. 1 S. 298 ff.

logical party to which Huss belonged, and to the head of which he was constantly advancing by his zeal, his active labours, and his theological culture. His teachers at the university of Prague, Stanislaus and Peter of Znaim, and his university friend, Stephen Paletz, belonged to this bent, and followed it in their writings and lectures. Stanislaus of Znaim seems indeed to have proceeded farther in the interest for Wickliff than Huss himself, in that he judged more favourably of his attack upon the doctrine of transubstantiation. Huss cites the following words of Stanislaus, which he pronounced in his commentary on the Sentences of Wickliff: "A certain teacher, Wickliff, in other things a profound philosopher and theologian, delivers this opinion (which he cites), and has publicly and often protested, as one may find in his writings, that as an obedient son of the church he is ready to believe, when he is convinced, the contrary, nay, if it be necessary, even to suffer death in correction of his error. And many, who are less able to see than he is, denounce him as a heretic, in this and other things, and defame the reputation of those who read his writings, not perceiving that among thorns may be found the most beautiful roses, even though he may really have uttered much that is heretical." And the same teacher says of the doctrine of transubstantiation: "Unless a new determination of the church or a satisfactory argument can prove this, it is not requisite for the catholic faith to adopt it."* We should here undoubtedly keep in mind, that the doctrine of transubstantiation no longer, as in the earlier centuries of the middle age, corresponded to a bent of spirit that ruled the whole age, and to a form of intuition grounded therein; that unembarrassed, child-like faith no longer predominated; doubts would rise even in the minds of those who were most cheerfully disposed to hold fast in all things to the authority of the church, as is plain from the fact that from Duns Scotus onward, a William Occum, a Durand, a Peter d'Ailly, themselves had to acknowledge that reason and Scripture would lead to a different view, if the church

* Hus, Responsio ad Scripta Magistri Stanislaus de Zuoyma; Opp. 1, pp. 267 et 288.

had not otherwise decided. Huss subsequently reproached his friend Paletz, for his crab-like movement, and accused him of having changed from a realist to a nominalist.* By the German party a mock mass upon their Bohemian opponents, the Wickliffites, was got up, and in it the genealogy of Christ was thus travestied—Peter of Znaim begat Stanislaus of Znaim, Stanislaus begat Stephen Paletz, and the latter begat Huss, intimating how Wickliffitism had spread from one to the other.†

An individual, who had great influence on the movements called forth in Prague by the contest for and against Wickliff, was one whom we shall often have occasion to mention as a fellow-combatant with Huss, the chevalier Jerome of Prague.‡ He was one of the few knights in Bohemia, distinguished by their zeal for science and literary culture.§ Jerome of Prague, several years younger than Huss, his youthful friend, stood faithfully by his side, as we frequently see men the most widely differing in character and in mental gifts, in times forming epochs in the evolu-

* Jam te cum Stanislao non poneris ad defendendum librum de universalibus; and: Fuistis realiste, cum jam sitis terministe. Responso ad Scripta Paletz; Opp. I. p. 260. Jam rebus dimissis, conversus es ad signa vel terminos, retrocedens sicut cancer. Ibid. p. 262.

† Missa, quam Teutonici blasphemè confinixerant, in qua per modum libri generationis primo ponitur Stanislus, qui genuit Petrum de Znoyma, et Petrus de Znoyma genuit Paletz et Paletz genuit Hus. L. c. p. 255, 2.

‡ Jerome is mentioned (according to Æneas Sylvius in his *Historia Bohemica*, cap. XXXV. who describes him as a putridus piscis: Tum quod erat familiæ suæ cognomen, Putridum piscem, id est, foetidum virus, in cives suos evomuit) as being connected with the noble Bohemian family of Faulfisch. But Palacky has shown that this statement has grown out of an error, by which the chevalier Jerome had been confounded with another less-known zealous friend of Wickliff's doctrines in Prague, the chevalier Nicholas of Faulfisch. See Palacky III. 1, s. 192, Note 245. [Palacky ascribes the error not to Æneas Sylvius, but to his readers. *Editor.*]

§ In these stirring times of the Bohemian nation there were some such. Palacky, for example, (III. 1, p. 187), mentions the chevalier Thomas of Stitney, the author of many papers, whose most important work appeared in the year 1374, and who was still living at the close of the fourteenth century. It characterises the national movement in Bohemia, that even in the case of this person, a man zealously devoted to scientific and literary pursuits, the religious element, as Palacky alleges, is the predominant one in his writings.

tion of the kingdom of God, each supplying the other's deficiencies, coöperating and contending together, as did afterwards Luther and Melancthon, although the relation in the present instance was a somewhat different one. Huss, a man of more calmness and discretion, of a character at once firm and gentle, more inclined to moderation, possessed of less numerous and diversified gifts, of a less excitable spirit, fonder of retirement within himself and silent self-seclusion than of mingling in the busy turmoils of life—Jerome, full of life and ardour, of an enterprising spirit, not disposed to remain still and quiet a long time in one place, whom we find now in Oxford, next at Paris, then at Jerusalem, in Hungary, at Vienna, and in Russia, everywhere attracting observation and everywhere provoking opposition, a man possessed of a gift of discourse that bore everything before it, but who in the excitement of the moment was easily led to pass beyond proper bounds, one who needed the cool considerateness of a Huss to act as a check on his activity. Jerome had, in 1398, returned from Oxford to Prague, and brought with him many writings of Wickliff not before known, which he endeavoured to circulate through the whole country and among all ranks and conditions of people. He stood up, with great enthusiasm, for the doctrines of Wickliff. He is reported to have said: "Until now, we had nothing but the shell of science; Wickliff first laid open the kernel."

After the contest for and against Wickliff, ever excited afresh by the connection between Oxford and Prague, had gone on for a considerable time in secret, the matter finally came to an open rupture. At the request of the archiepiscopal officials and cathedral chapter of Prague, a meeting of the university was held on the 28th of May, 1403, and forty-five propositions ascribed to Wickliff were laid before that body for examination. Here, for the first time, it came to an open and violent struggle between the Bohemian and the German party. The representatives of the former in part defended the propositions complained of, and partly they maintained that they were not taught in the sense ascribed to them. In this assembly, one of the warm advocates of Wickliff's cause in Bohemia, Master Nicholas of Leitomysl, declared that these articles had been falsified

by a certain Master Hübner, who more richly deserved to be burned than the two poor fellows who had been burned for counterfeiting saffron (a herb much sought for and used in those times). Huss himself declared at this time, as ever afterwards, that he could not agree to the unconditional condemnation of those propositions, though neither was he disposed to defend them all; for many of them had been interpolated by that Master Hübner. He could not join in any such condemnation, lest he should bring on himself the woes, denounced on such as called evil good, and good evil.*

Also the teacher of Huss, Stanislaus of Znaim, stood forth at this time as a defender of the forty-five propositions; and Huss notices him as the first who took up the word in defence.† Still, by the vast majority of votes on the side of the German nation, the condemnation of the forty-five articles was carried through. According to the then arrangements of the university of Prague, the Germans, who kept firmly united, would, in all public meetings, of course obtain the victory. The votes were taken by nations; and the university of Prague was divided into four nations. One was the Bohemian; the three others, Bavarian, Saxon, and Polish, of which latter, half were Germans, namely Silesians. Accordingly the Bohemians, who were scarcely one to three, must always succumb. Every victory which the German party won in this way could only serve to augment the bitter feeling of hostility between the two nations, and between the Wickliffite and anti-Wickliffite parties. The defenders of the writings and doctrines of Wickliff, however, allowed themselves the less to be disturbed by the condemnation pronounced at this convocation, as they had not, in fact, acknowledged all those propositions to be propositions really laid down by Wickliff. By this condemnation, therefore, nothing or what amounted to nothing, had been accomplished; and the opponents of Wickliff's

* From Huss's remarks in the trial above mentioned. Stud. u. Kirt. 1837, I. s. 132.

† Huss says of him: *Reminisceretur, quomodo primus fuit ad defendendum, ne articuli, quos ipse dicit erroneos, damnarentur. Imo et arguebat audacter in congregatione universitatis. Resp. ad Scripta Mag. Stan. de Znoyma. Hus, Opp. I. p. 288.*

cause were obliged to look round them and conjure up sharper measures. Already Bohemian prelates themselves complained at the court of Rome that Wickliff's heresies had spread even to that spot,* and in the year 1405, pope Innocent VII. was moved thereby to put forth a bull addressed to archbishop Zbynek, calling upon him to suppress and punish the Wickliffite heresies then spreading in Bohemia. The archbishop complied with this call, and at a synod held in Prague, in the year 1406, published an ordinance, threatening ecclesiastical penalties against those who presumed to teach the doctrines of Wickliff.† At the same time he enacted, in the same year, a law for the maintenance of the doctrine of transubstantiation, directing all preachers within his diocese to teach, on Corpus-Christi day and on all other days, the doctrine that, after the words of consecration, the substance of the bread and wine was no longer present, but only body and blood of Christ. The name of Wickliff, however, was not here mentioned.‡ This of course could not effect Huss, as he had never declared himself opposed to the doctrine of transubstantiation. In the next place, it was brought about by the measures of the archbishop that, as the three other nations of the university of Prague had always pronounced against the opinions of Wickliff, and therefore in all further measures against them—the only question was with regard to the Bohemian nation, among whom alone these opinions found defenders—the members of this body held, in the year 1408, a great convocation, in which the condemnation of those forty-five propositions was again proposed. But as the unconditional condemnation of them could not, on account of the resist-

* See the words from the Chronicles of Prague University, in Palacky III. 1, s. 213 : Innocentius papa VII. instigavit et monuit Zbynkonem archiepiscopum Pragensem, ut sit diligens et sollicitus ad errores Wiclef et hæreses exstirpandas. Hanc monitionem prælati procuraverunt.

† Item anno 1406, D. Zbynko archiepiscopus Prag. edidit statutum, et eodem anno in synodo publice mandavit, quod quicumque prædicaret, assereret vel disputaret errores Wiclef, in certas ibidem nominatas incideret pœnas. Chron. Univers. Prag. Palacky, p. 214.

‡ See the ordinance in a paper by the abbot Stephen of Dola, in the diocese of Olmutz, composed in 1408 ; *Medulla tritici seu Anti-Wickliffus*, published by Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus*, tom. IV. pars 2, p. 158.

ance of the party of Huss, be carried through, such a qualified one was passed as nobody could find fault with, because it was left open to each to explain the propositions in his own sense. It was decreed, namely, that no one should presume to maintain any one of those forty-five propositions, in their heretical, erroneous, or scandalous sense.* Men were not satisfied, therefore, with this measure, by which the desired end could in no way be attained. While hitherto every graduate had liberty to read lectures at the university of Prague on any book of a teacher of the universities of Prague, Paris, or Oxford;† and this permission had given occasion for the reading of lectures upon many of Wickliff's writings in Prague, and was taken advantage of to spread more widely the enthusiasm for him and for his doctrines; the liberty was now restricted, on this particular side. An ordinance was passed, that, for the future, no bachelor should hold public lectures on any one of the three tracts of Wickliff, entitled the Dialogue, the Trialogue, and the *De Eucharistia*; and no person should make any proposition relating to Wickliff's books and doctrines a subject of public disputation.‡ Neither does this prohibition, therefore, extend to all Wickliff's writings, but only to those in which he either had set forth his doctrine of the holy supper, or the whole of his theological system.

Up to this time, the good understanding between Huss and the archbishop had not been disturbed, in any open manner. Zbynek could not, as yet, have withdrawn from him his confidence; he must still have highly appreciated his zeal for the reform of the church, and for the removal of abuses; for he chose him, as late as the year 1407, to deliver the exhortatory discourse before his clergy assembled at a synod of the diocese. We recognise in it those prin-

* Quatenus nemo quemquam illorum, articulorum XLV. audeat tenere, docere vel defendere in sensibus eorum hæreticis, aut erroneis, aut scandalosis. Palacky, I. c. D. p. 222.

† Quivis magistrorum poterit super quolibet libro de facultate artium proprie dicta dare, per se vel per alium idoneum pronuntiando; poterit quoque scripta aliorum et dicta per se aut per alium pronuntiare, dummodo sint ab aliquo vel aliquibus famoso vel famosis de universitate Pragensi, Parisiensi vel Oxoniensi magistro vel magistris compilata, et dummodo ista antea fideliter correxerit, et pronuntiatorem assumerit idoneum et valentem. Palacky, p. 188. ‡ Palacky, III. 1, p. 222.

principles with regard to the destination of the clergy, which Huss entertained in common with Matthias of Janow and Wickliff. They were the principles which, in theory and practice, distinguished the clergy who were friendly to reform, and who already bore, in Bohemia, the names *clerus evangelicus* and *pauperes sacerdotes Christi*.* He had chosen for his text the passage in Ephesians vi. 14; and employed these words for the purpose of bringing the clergy to a consciousness of their vocation, as opposed to the then existing worldliness of the clergy in Bohemia. For the purpose of bringing clearly to view the destination of the clergy, he explains the grounds of the division of Christendom into three orders, which ever lay at bottom of his proposal for the reform of the entire social state, viz. the clergy, the secular nobility, who should make their power subservient to the promotion of the law of Christ, and the rest of the people standing in obedience to the two parts, as their leaders in things spiritual and secular. The clergy ought to take the lead of all others in following Christ under the form of a servant, in meekness, humility, purity, and poverty. Huss was still entangled in the distinction made between the *consilia evangelica* and the *præcepta*, above which Matthias Janow had, as we have earlier seen, already risen in recognising the equal Christian vocation of all men. Huss regarded it as the calling of the clergy to exhibit to all, even in the observance of the "evangelical counsels," a pattern of Christian perfection. Hence he must have held to the necessity of celibacy in the clergy. The clergy ought literally to fulfil the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount; therefore never to give an oath; their yea and nay ought to be sufficient. They ought literally to realise what Christ had said in the sermon on the mount, on loving our enemies, on bearing wrongs. The thriving of Christian life in all others, must therefore be conditioned on the fact that the clergy let their light shine before others, in the literal copying after Christ. It was in the falling away of the clergy from this, their true destination, that Huss, as

* Paletz was disposed afterwards to find something arrogant in the claim, which seemed to be implied in these appellations, *quod in doctrina et in scriptis se audent clerum evangelicum nominare*. Hus, Resp. ad Scr. Paletz; Opera I. p. 260.

he here declares, found the cause of the corruptions in the rest of Christendom, the contemplation of which filled his soul, more and more every day, with that heart sorrow which formed one of the strong features of his character. He says in this regard, contemplating Christians as soldiers of Christ, and the clergy as those who ought to take the foremost position in the marshalled host; it is clearly evident that the clergy should lead the order of battle in the spiritual conflict. But if they are unfit for the contest, the victory is seldom or never won; since they, betaking themselves to flight, or struck down and put into confusion, fill the next ranks of the army with despair or irresolution. Now if the clergy are struck down or slain, this will hinder the rest of the army from conquering the enemy; but if they treacherously enter into a league with the enemy, they will prepare the way for them to vanquish, more easily and treacherously, the army of our Lord Jesus Christ. For this is the reason why, in our days, the Christian army is overcome by the flesh, the world, the devil, and pagans.* As Huss considered it a part of the clerical calling to set the example of following Christ, and regarded the clergy, as "vicars of Christ," in this sense, so when they exhibited the opposite of this in their lives, he stigmatises them as Antichrist; and accordingly he here expresses, before the archbishop and *clerus*, the view which, from the time of Militz, had been transmitted to all the representatives of this reform tendency, and which in the development of the consequences proceeding therefrom, would be directed against the whole hierarchical fabric, that the true Antichrist was already present in the corrupt clergy, whose life and doctrine stood in mutual contradiction. He also attacks expressly, in this discourse, the countenance given to superstition. "Many," says he, "stand waiting for gifts by letters of fraternities,† by far-

* Hus, Opp. II. p. 32.

† Documents whereby certain spiritual societies adopted others into the community of their merits. Against abuses of this sort, and the confidence placed in them, Matthias of Janow had often spoken. Attacking these *epistolæ fraternitatum* was reckoned also among the peculiarities of Wickliffitism, as we may see from what the abbot Stephen of Dola says about it in the paper cited above. He tries to defend them

sought indulgences, by fictitious relics, by painted images of saints."*

Still the measures which the archbishop, by his interest to support the church and by the injunction received from Rome, was impelled to take to prevent the spread of Wickliffitism, would necessarily bring about by degrees a change in the relations which had subsisted between Zbynek and Huss. The archbishop's official, John of Kebel, presided over a judicial examination instituted against several clergymen accused of Wickliffite errors: Nicholas of Welenowitz, preacher at the church of the Holy Spirit in Prague, Master Matthias Pater of Knin, a certain bachelor Sigmund of Jistebnitz, and others. One of these, Nicholas of Welenowitz, commonly called Abraham, deserves special notice. He is said to have asserted that laymen as well as priests might be allowed to preach the gospel.† This is an important fact to us, as an indication of the religious bent of spirit which had passed over from Matthias of Janow to the party of Huss,—the tendency which once more brought up to notice the universal priesthood of Christians. It is also a circumstance marking the character of these clergymen, that at his trial he declined swearing except by the living God, that he would not swear by the crucifix, the gospels, or the saints, because no oath could be taken on things created. Huss took part with the man in reference to this point, honouring the conscientiousness which refused to transfer to any created thing the honour due to God alone. He opposed to those judges the authority of St. Chrysostom.‡ In vain was the

as special testimonies of love to persons who had conferred peculiar favours: *Si quas autem tradimus humiliter et devote pro Deo petentibus societatis peculiaris in Christo literas, nihil aliud agitur, ubi recta intentio custoditur, nisi ut salvis communibus ecclesiæ præcibus, aliquid specialis beneficii specialibus benefactoribus faciamus pro talibus in vita et in morte pariter.* L. c. p. 240.

* *Multi enim stant quærentes munera per fraternitatum literas, per exquisitas indulgentias, per fictas reliquias et per imagines coloratas.* P. 36.

† From the Acts of the Consistory of Prague, of the year 1408, cited by Palacky, III. 1, p. 223, Note 287.

‡ We take this from the Trial of Huss, in the year 1414, a document of which much use has been made already. The words of Huss are: *Istud dixi coram inquisitoribus Magistro Mauricio et Jaroslao episcopo,*

intercession of Huss. He was thrown into prison, and after some days released, but banished from the diocese. Huss, in a letter, vehemently reproached the archbishop on account of this proceeding. "What is this! that men stained with innocent blood, men guilty of every crime, shall be found walking abroad almost with impunity; while humble priests, who spend all their efforts to destroy sin, who fulfil their duties under your church guidance, in a good temper, never follow avarice, but give themselves for nothing to God's service and the proclamation of his word, are cast into dungeons as heretics, and must suffer banishment for preaching the gospel?"* Here, for the first time, the thing came out openly which we have said was inevitable, that although the archbishop, at the beginning, countenanced the reform tendency in Huss, yet the opposite character of their principles and of their tempers, must lead to a rupture between them as soon as the activity of Huss as a reformer passed beyond a certain limit. And when the first impulse had been given, he could not fail to be carried still farther, by the movements in this period of a great crisis of the church. A document which bears testimony to the extreme excitement between the Wickliffite party in Bohemia and the representatives of the old hierarchical system in its whole extent, is a work composed

et coram vicario in spiritualibus, quando vexabant sacerdotem Abraham, dicentes coram me, quod nolisset jurare. Ad quem dixi coram ipsis: Non vis tu jurare? Qui respondit: Juravi ipsis per Deum vivum, quod volo veritatem dicere, et ipsi urgebant me, ut jurarem supra evangelium et imaginem crucifixi. Quibus ego Joannes Hus dixi, quod sanctus Jo. Chrysostomus nos vocat stultos, qui expetunt juramentum super creatura, quasi majus sit jurare per creaturam, quam per Deum. Et statim vicarius in spiritualibus nomine Bibel dixit furiose: Ha Magister, vos venistis huc ad audiendum, et non arguendum. Cui dixi: Ecce vos istum sacerdotem condemnare, dicentes eum tenere errorem Waldensium, et ipse juravit vobis per Deum, estne hoc justum? Et alia multa loquebar iis. See Stud. u. Krit. I. c. pp. 139 and 140.

* Qualiter hoc est, quod incestuosi et varie criminosi absque rigo correctionis—incedunt libere, sacerdotes autem humiles, spinas peccati evellentes, officium Vestri implentes regiminis ex bono affectu, non sequentes avaritiam, sed gratis pro Deo se offerentes ad evangelisationis laborem, tamquam hæretici mancipantur carceribus, et exilium propter evangelisationem ipsius evangelii patiuntur? cæt. Palacky, III. 1, p. 223, Note 288.

in these times, about the year 1408, by the abbot of the convent of Dola, in the diocese of Olmutz; the object of which was to guard against and to refute the Wickliffite heresies. Dola was a man by no means disposed to defend the abuses of simony and the bad conduct of the clergy and monks. He complains of it as a grievance, that important men in Bohemia, a country hitherto exempt from all heresies, had contributed to bring their nation into bad repute with foreigners, particularly with the Germans: that they openly and secretly disseminated the Wickliffite doctrines;* that the writings of Wickliff were scattered over the whole world.† He describes the party as one that boasted of having first made familiar the understanding of the Scriptures, and taken pains to have the gospel preached everywhere. He quotes from their own lips the words: "We preach; we proclaim the word of God; we guide the people."‡ He gives us to understand that they attacked all others as ignorant men (no doubt in reference to their knowledge of the Scripture); that they were opponents of the monks, of the conventual clergy; as the latter, in fact, were the most decidedly opposed to the more liberal Christian tendency.§ Already, too, he found it necessary to defend the doctrine of indulgences against the objections of this party.|| The author of this work attacks no individual name; he does not even mention that of Huss, whom he undoubtedly had in his eye in speaking of "men who seemed to be of some consequence."¶ But at this time the Wickliffites, so called, would be treated with more forbearance, as the opposition within the Bohemian party itself, at the university of Prague, had not as yet broken out; and the abbot himself had, earlier, stood on friendly terms with Huss, and describes him as a man formerly inclined to support the church, and like-minded with himself.**

* Stephanus Dolanus Antiwikleffus, by Pez, Thesaur. tom. IV. pars 2, p. 184.

† Quæ in orbe terrarum hinc inde discurrunt scripta per chartulas. Ibid. p. 213.

‡ Ibid. p. 209.

§ Non sumus, inquiunt, sicut cæteri hominum, idiotæ et claustrales. Ibid.

|| Ibid. p. 214.

¶ Qui videntur esse aliquid.

** Tu vero homo olim unanimes, qui simul mecum dulces capiebas cibos, magnificentasti super me supplantationem, in his Antihussus, Pez,

But although such excitement existed between the two parties, yet archbishop Zbynek thought that enough had been done on his part for the suppression of the Wickliffite heresy. He may not have been, himself, so very zealous in this matter. He had his reasons for exercising forbearance towards the party of Huss, which had important adherents in all ranks of society. Violent steps might, in the present times of fermentation, lead to fearful commotions; and king Wenceslaus had not, since the accession of pope Boniface IX., stood on the best terms with the Roman court, as the latter had failed to afford him the desired assistance in his struggle with Rupert for the imperial dignity. His openly-avowed breach with the court of Rome would be favourable to the reform party in Bohemia; and archbishop Zbynek could not reckon on the king's support in carrying out his measures against Wickliffitism. As it might be very prejudicial to the king's interests in relation to German affairs, that suspicions should be raised against the Bohemians by the spread of reports importing that they were inclined to the Wickliffite heresy, he was the more urgent with the archbishop to set on foot an investigation which should vindicate the good character of the Bohemians. In July of the year 1408, Zbynek declared, at a diocesan synod held at Prague, that it had been found, after investigation, that no Wickliffite heresy existed at present in Bohemia.* At the same time, however, he ordered that the writings of Wickliff

Thes. tom. IV. pars 2, p. 380. Cochläus cites this passage and much other matter from this book in his work *Historiæ Hussitarum*, lib. I. p. 39; but he names the author Stephen Paletz. Doubtless he was led to confound him with Stephen Paletz, on account of his having the same Christian name, Stephen, and because the abbot in the place cited, where Cochläus instead of *simul* reads *semel*, which would give a totally different sense at variance with the context, speaks of himself as an old friend of Huss; which confusion was already noticed by the Benedictine Pez, the editor of the writings of this abbot.

* See what Palacky (III. 1, p. 224) remarks, on the authority of certain MS. records, and the words of the Jurist, Master Jensenitz, in his *Repetitio pro Defensione Causæ Joann. Hus*: Cum in regno Boëmiæ nullus fidei erroneus vel hæreticus hujusque sit compertus vel convictus, prout pronunciatio principum et baronum inter dominum Sbyconem piæ memoriæ archiepiscopum olim Pragensem et partem adversam approbat. Hus, Opp. I. fol. 832, 2.

should be delivered up,—an order which ended in mere words, the bishop not having the power, and perhaps at that time not even a serious intention, of actually carrying out so radical a measure.

Up to this time, the Bohemians at the university of Prague were still united together, by a common national interest, against the predominance of the Germans. The party favourable to reform would be the most desirous to overthrow this preponderance, the Germans being, on account of their philosophical and theological opinions, the fiercest opponents of the new theological tendency; and by their coöperation, as had been shown at the convocation assembled to condemn the forty-five articles of Wickliff, all measures directed against this tendency might easily be carried through. Combined, in the case of Huss and Jerome, with the religious interest, was that of patriotism; and on this side they might count on receiving the support of many who did not agree with them in religious and doctrinal matters. Huss, the confessor of queen Sophia, could for this reason exercise a greater influence at court. His friend Jerome moved in the most respectable circles. They were supported, in this cause, by the most influential of the nobility. Add to this that king Wenceslaus had a strong political motive, connected with his politico-ecclesiastical plans, for favouring the Bohemian more than the German party in the university. Meantime took place the renunciation of both the rival popes, by the great majority of the cardinals, and the proclamation of the council of Pisa. The king, who had been urged by France, and had separated from Gregory XII., was disposed to embrace the cause of the council. In this view, he might expect more support from the party in favour of reform, than from the Germans who were devoted to the cause of papal despotism. Thus he was induced to put forth an edict, whereby a change was made in the relation of votes at the university of Prague, three being given to the Bohemians, while only one was allowed to the foreigners. Teachers and students of the German nation carried into effect, in the month of September, a resolution which they had bound themselves, under the most sacred oaths, to execute in case the king would give

no heed to their remonstrances, and forsook Prague in vast numbers. The number who left, it seems, cannot be exactly estimated. They who reckon highest, estimate it at 44,000; the lowest estimate is 5,000.* Only 2,000 students are said to have been left in Prague.

This was an event which, in its consequences, had the most important influence on the development of the contest, which is now the subject of our contemplation. The Bohemian party at the university had now gained decidedly the ascendancy, as was soon made evident by the choice of Huss as rector of the university. But it turned out here as it usually does in political, ecclesiastical, and religious affairs, with combinations formed of conflicting elements, and held together only by the bond of a common opposition. The national interest had thus far brought into union with Huss a set of men, who were unlike him in spirit and temper, and were only not conscious as yet of the opposition really existing between them. A crisis must now arrive, which would operate to separate those who valued the interests of Christianity and reform above all things else, from those who were not disposed in any case to renounce the dominant church tendency. The decisive events which transpired in this stormy period must soon bring about the dissolution of such a union, which was no longer held together by the interest of a common opposition; and men who had fought side by side must be led to fight against each other. Men who had been *friends* must become the most violent *enemies*. Amongst those who left the university were to be found eminent scholars who obtained important situations abroad. This emigration was the occasion of the founding of the new university at Leipsic. And the most injurious reports were now circulated abroad respecting the heresies of the party of Huss. All who were determined to maintain the old church system, not merely the friends of the papal absolutism of the middle age, but also those disposed to favour reform, the adherents of the Parisian theology, believed they saw a dangerous revolution, threatening the overthrow of all ecclesiastical order, break-

* See the dissertation of J. Th. Held: "Illustratio rerum anno 1409 in universitate Pragensi gestarum," and the essays of Pelzel on the history of the emperor Wenceslaus, and Palacky, l. c.

ing forth from Bohemia, and were therefore of the opinion that every effort should be made to avert this danger. The city of Prague suffered a great loss by this emigration. Even commerce felt the blow; as many merchants had sent their sons to Prague with a view to push their business in that city, and these young men had in part got themselves matriculated in order to enjoy the privileges of the university. An odious light was cast upon Jerome and Huss as the authors of the mischief; and this was marked as one of the ruinous effects of religious schism. Jerome of Prague must therefore defend himself and his friend against the charges brought against them on this side also, at the council of Constance; and he sets forth the motives of patriotism, which had induced them to obtain this decree from king Wenceslaus. After having given an account of the ascendancy which the Germans had gained ever after the foundation of the university of Prague, he said, that when he and Huss and other nobles, in Bohemia, perceived that the whole effect of all this would be to exterminate the Bohemian language, they had gone to the king; and he had persuaded his friend Huss, in his Bohemian sermons, to make the people take notice that they ought no longer to tolerate such a thing, nor suffer themselves to be so treated by the Germans; and so, with the help of the Bohemian nobility and others of their countrymen, they had finally carried the thing through.* In like manner Huss was accused, as we find it laid to his charge in his last trial in Prague, in the year 1414, of having driven the German students from the university. But he replied; the German students were driven away by nobody. Their own oath alone drove them away; they pledged themselves on penalty of excommunication for perjury, the forfeiture of their honour, and a pecuniary mulct of 60 groats, that not one of them would remain at the uni-

* Ipse vero Hieronymus videns hoc, una cum Mag. Joann. Hus iverrunt ad regem Bohemiæ, concludentes, quod talia essent res mali exempli et tenderent in destructionem linguæ Bohemicalis. Et persuasit Mag. Joann. Hus, quod in sermonibus Bohemicalibus deberet inducere populum Bohemicalium, quod talia amplius sustinere non deberent, quod ita tractarentur per Teutonicos. Jerome, in his last hearing at Constance. See V. d. Hardt, Acta Concilii Constantiensis, tom. IV. pars 2, p. 758.

versity, if they did not have the right of three votes. According to the law of God, and by natural right, the Bohemians ought to have the first claim to offices within the Bohemian realm; just as the French have in France, and the Germans in their countries. Of what sort of use would it be for a Bohemian parish priest or bishop to settle down in Germany, if he were not familiar with the German tongue, and therefore had about the same power over his flock as a dumb dog which could not bark? "The same power would a German have among us Bohemians. Knowing, therefore, that this is contrary to the law of God and natural right, I say that it is not allowable."*

Meantime, king Wenceslaus, who had never been a friend of the hierarchy, became daily more involved in controversy with the archbishop and the clergy. The influence of this was, that he promoted thereby, without intending it, the movements of reform, besides contributing on the one hand to strengthen the party of Huss, and, on the other, to draw upon him still more numerous and more dangerous enemies. The archbishop and clergy would not abandon pope Gregory XII., whose obedience the king had renounced, nor recognise the general council assembled at Pisa, whose cause Wenceslaus sought to promote. The king was for carrying out his will in his own states. He met with fierce resistance from the clergy; many refused to continue divine worship. Violent attacks were made on the archbishop and the clergy by the king and his favourites, who, partly as the king's instruments, partly from private grudges, eagerly sought to humble the prelates. Many betook themselves to flight; their goods were confiscated. The king, too, was probably inclined to indulge in acts of arbitrary self-will. Huss now considered it to be his duty to declare himself in favour of the cause of the council in his sermons, and to promote it in every way, as there was far more reason to expect something might be done for the reform of the church by the council than by either of the popes. By so doing he would gain the favour of the king, but so much the more draw upon himself the enmity of the archbishop and the clergy; and this was attended with important con-

* Depos. test. in the Strud. u. Krit. a. a. O. p. 131.

sequences on the later events. Huss himself points to this in his letter hereafter to be noticed to the college of cardinals in Rome, as the prime cause of the violent rupture between him and the archbishop. He says, the grievous oppressions which he was compelled to bear, originated in the fact, that at the time of the renunciation of Pope Gregory XII., he had strongly recommended and constantly preached to all the nobles, princes, and lords, to the clergy and the people, the duty of taking part with the general council for restoring unity to the church. Hence the archbishop Zbynek had forbidden to all masters of the university who sided with the college of cardinals, and particularly to himself, by a public notice posted on the churches, the exercise of all priestly functions within his diocese.* In like manner Huss expressed himself, on this subject, at the council of Constance. He was accused, namely, of having sowed discord and schism between the spiritual and secular powers; hence had arisen the persecution of the bishop and the clergy, and the plundering of their goods. To this Huss replied: Nothing of the kind had happened through any fault of his. The schism between church and state had fallen out earlier, and it had arisen in this way: King Wenceslaus had been induced to abandon Pope Gregory XII., who favoured Duke Rupert of Bavaria in the competition for the imperial dignity, and to apply to the college of cardinals, which held out to him the hope of obtaining the vote of the pope then to be elected. Now as archbishop Zbynek and the clergy opposed the king in this step, and many suspended divine worship and left Prague, and in fact were followed by the archbishop himself, the king had easily granted that the goods of those who had fled to avoid being compelled to side with the king should be taken from them.† By these commotions Huss was led, in setting forth the necessity of a reformation of the church to his numerous hearers in Bethlehem Chapel, to portray the corruption of the clergy, in all its parts, in dark colours indeed, but certainly not exceeding the truth. For this he had often been reproached, both at that time and more recently. While

* Huss, Opp. I. fol. 93.

† See Hardt, tom. IV. pars 2, pp. 311 et 312.

the clergy heard him with pleasure when he fearlessly attacked the reigning vices among other classes of men, they could no longer tolerate him when he attacked their own. They laid a complaint against him before the king; but the king who was not displeased with what he had done, replied to them: When Huss preached sharp discourses against the princes and lords, they had complacently looked on; now their turn had come, and they must make the best of it. Upon this was founded the charge that Huss had stirred up the laity to rebellion against the clergy. On the occasion of his trial at Prague, in the year 1414, he was forced to defend himself against this charge; and he said: "I hope that, by the grace of God, I have never preached in an unbecoming manner. Against the vices of the clergy I have undoubtedly preached; and I hope that I shall preach against them before the council (of Constance); not in any extravagant and irregular way, nor so as to show any disposition to injure their good name, but so as to restore their good name, and to give them occasion for correcting their faults. For he who seeks to remove the vices in his neighbours, from good motives, seeks most effectually to restore their good name. O, how much would it conduce to the good name of every one, if, whenever he heard his vices rebuked in a sermon, he would renounce them, and afterwards, by a good life, secure to himself the praise of God and all holy men!" When he was accused of drawing away, by his sermons, the laity of other churches from their parish priests, and leading them to disobey those priests, he replied, that he had never, in any way, enticed subjects from a holy obedience to their superiors, but from unlawful obedience; he had taught that they should not follow those set over them and parish priests in doing that which is wrong.* It was cast as a special reproach upon Huss, as it had already been before upon Matthias of Janow, † that he openly attacked, before the people, in the Bohemian tongue, the vices of the clergy. In reference to this, Cardinal d'Ailly afterwards said to him, at the council of Constance, "Certainly thou hast not observed a just moderation

* See Stud. u. Crit. a. a. O. p. 143.

† See above, p. 250.

in thy sermons and writings. Oughtest thou not to have adapted thy sermons to the particular needs of thy hearers? For what was the necessity or advantage of preaching before the people against cardinals, when no cardinal was present? Such things should rather be said in their presence, than to their injury before the laity." To this Huss replied: "Priests and other learned men were present to hear my sermons,* and what I said was on their account, and for the purpose of warning them."† Huss, at some later period, composed a tract, in vindication of himself against the charge of having done wrong in openly attacking the vices of the clergy in his sermons, and pointed out the reasons which had led him to do so. He states, in particular, the following good ends, which such discourses might subserve: first, it might be of advantage to the clergy themselves, that they should be made ashamed of their faults and led to repentance; secondly, that the worth of good clergymen would shine brighter by the contrast. Thirdly, that good clergymen would, by comparison with the bad, gain so much the more the love of the people, and bad ones fall so much the more into contempt. Fourthly, that the good clergy and laity thus learned to avoid the bad, as mangy sheep and wolves. And he applies here the words of Christ on the final separation (Matt. xiii. 41), which, after the manner of Matthias of Janow,‡ he understands as referring to heralds or preachers, designated as Christ's angels, sent forth in the last times for the purpose of separating the good from the bad. Fifthly, that the simple laity might not imitate those wolves in their life and conduct. Sixthly, that the sinful laity might be stripped of every excuse; since it was their wont to say, The priests preach against our unchastity and other vices, and say nothing of their own unchastity and their own vices. Either this is no sin, or they are for monopolising it to themselves. And since it was their wont to say, The priests behold the mote in our

* What Huss here says is confirmed by the words of the abbot of Dola in his *Dialogues volatilis adv. Hussum: Auditorum multorum millium diversi status et generis supputatio*. Pez, *Thesaur.* tom. IV. pars 2, p. 462.

† *Quia sermonibus meis sacerdotes et alii doctri viri interfuerunt, illorum causa hæc a me dicta sunt, ut sibi caverent*. See Hardt, tom. IV. pars 2, p. 317.

‡ See above, p. 251.

eyes, but not the beam in their own; let them first cast out the beam in their own eyes, and then tell us that we should cast out the mote from ours; and since, again, it was their wont to say, Why dost thou reprove me?—the priests do the same; why dost thou not reprove them? Is it perchance no sin in their case? Next, because if the prelate be a bad man, perhaps an Antichrist, and if perhaps on account of his wickedness, the people will not obey him even in what is right; the preacher is bound to call upon them to act according to the example of Christ; to follow the precepts which such lay down, but not imitate their actions (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3 and 1 Pet. ii. 18). Finally, because the students, when they listen with the people to sermons attacking the vices of the clergy, seek to avoid such, and to prepare themselves, in a better way, for their future calling; or if they are conscious of being guilty of still greater sins, which would be incompatible with their undertaking so sacred a vocation, they are moved to forsake them betimes.* In a later performance, Huss appeals to the maxim that sin can at most hurt a good man only when it is not known to be sin; when exposed, it is rendered harmless.† Another contemporary, the Bohemian theologian Andrew of Broda, says, to be sure, in a writing addressed to Huss, that he was not persecuted expressly because he attacked the vices of the clergy; for the same thing had been done already, before him, by John Militz, Conrad of Waldhausen, and John Stekna.‡ But it is evident, from our preceding narrative, that the two first-named individuals did actually draw down upon themselves persecution by their castigatory sermons against the clergy. It may be

* See the tract *De arguendo clero pro concione*. Hus, *Opp. I.* fol. 150, 2. seq.

† *Nulla autem res sic exterminat bonum, quemadmodum simulatum bonum. Nam manifestum malum tanquam malum fugitur et cavetur. Malum autem sub specie boni celatum, dum non cognoscitur, nec cavetur, sed etiam quasi bonum suscipitur et non conjunctum est bono, id est Christo, ideo exterminat bonum* Responsio ad scriptum octo doctorum, *Opp. I.* fol. 305, 2.

‡ Andrew of Broda, in his *Responsio* to the epistola, qua a Joann. Hus tentatu fuerat, ut vel in partem ejus transiret, vel saltem non obsisteret: Nam et ab antiquis temporibus Milicijus, Conradus, Szekna et alii quam plurimi contra clericos predicaverunt. See Coelnkeus, *Hist. Huss.* lib. I. p. 42.

gathered from the words of Matthias of Janow, cited on a former page, how certainly such castigatory preachers exposed themselves to persecutions and to defamation as heretics; and it lay in the very nature of the case that, as the excited feelings between the two parties, that of the dominant clergy and of the friends of reform, increased in intensity, so the persecutions against the castigatory preachers would increase in violence. Now as it concerns Huss, his connection with Wickliffitism, and the complication of his cause with many other matters which we have pointed out, contributed no doubt to aggravate his case. And as he cultivated the growth of that which had been sown by his predecessors, so he was under the necessity also of reaping, in the bad as well as the good sense, what they had but sown.

The clergy of Prague, who had already, near the end of the year 1408, entered a complaint against Huss, before the archbishop, renewed their complaint in still stronger terms during the year in which, for the reasons already mentioned, the breach grew more violent. The charges which they brought against Huss were as follows: that he stirred up the people against the clergy, the Bohemians against the Germans; preached disrespect to the church and disregard to her power of punishing; styled Rome the seat of Antichrist, and declared every clergyman who demanded a fee for distributing the sacrament a heretic; that he openly praised Wickliff, and had expressed the wish that his soul might finally arrive where Wickliff's soul was.* In reference to the charge relating to his opinion of Wickliff, Huss in his trial at Prague, in the year 1414, remarked: "I say, and have said, that Wickliff was, as I hope, a good Christian; and I hope he is in the kingdom of heaven; and so too have I expressed myself in my sermons. Hence I hope also to-day, though I never affirmed it as a fact, that Wickliff belonged to the number of the saved; because I do not choose to condemn any man, respecting whom I have no testimony of Scripture and no revelation no spiritual knowledge, that he belongs to the number of the reprobate; for our Saviour says, Judge not, that ye be not judged."†

* Palacky, III. 1, p. 246.

† Depos. Test. 1. c. pp. 129 and 130.

On the presentation of these complaints, archbishop Zbynek charged his inquisitor, Master Mauritius of Prague, to inquire into them, and at the same time to examine by virtue of what authority it was that sermons and divine worship were held in Bethlehem Chapel. We perceive here, already, a wish in the archbishop to find some reason for putting a stop to those labours of Huss in Bethlehem Chapel which exerted so great an influence on the people. It is much to be questioned whether Huss, under the existing circumstances, when the bonds of the diocese were relaxed by discordant opinions respecting the recognition of the council of Pisa, would have acknowledged the competency of that spiritual court. He himself, however, addressed to Rome a complaint against the archbishop, and the latter was cited to Rome on the 14th of December of the year 1409. Yet in the meanwhile the more general commotions in the church brought about a change in the whole situation of the affair.

After the council of Pisa had successfully asserted itself as the supreme tribunal of the church, the archbishop dared no longer resist. He acknowledged Alexander V. the pope appointed by the council. But when the cause of the council had made good its way through Bohemia, Huss received no thanks for what he had done in the struggle with the dominant church party for the furtherance of the cause of the council. Zbynek was able to obtain more from the pope for giving up his opposition. His complaints, laid before the latter, respecting the dissemination of the Wickliffite heresy in these districts, met with the more ready acceptance because of his submission; and Alexander V. was induced by the archbishop to put forth, soon afterwards and as early as December of the year 1409, a bull in which he declares he had heard that the heresies of Wickliff, and especially his denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation, were spreading far and wide in Bohemia. He called upon the archbishop to employ vigorous measures for the suppression of these heresies. He should cause all the writings of Wickliff to be delivered up into his hands, appoint a committee of four doctors of theology and two doctors of canon law to examine the same, and proceed in conformity with the judgment they should give. All clergymen who

refused to deliver up those writings, or who should defend Wickliffite heresies, he should cause to be arrested and deprived of their benefices, and in case of necessity the aid of the secular power should be called in. As private chapels served to spread errors among the people, sermons for the future should be preached, in Bohemia, only in cathedrals, parish and conventual churches, and prohibited in all *private churches*.* This papal bull did not arrive in Bohemia until ten weeks after it had been put forth, and was proclaimed on the 9th of March, 1410. It was the first in the series of great convulsions, which the Bohemian church was destined thenceforth to suffer, the beginning of the great commotions in the midst of which Huss was borne on, from one step in advance to another. Zbynek had probably been the more confident that by means of this expression of the supreme authority of the church he should be able to crush the party at a blow, because King Wenceslaus had not only recognised Alexander V. as a pope elected by the council favoured by himself, but in addition to this had, in earlier times, been on terms of personal friendship with the new pope. For the latter, when Cardinal Villargi, had decidedly supported the cause of the king in his competition for the imperial dignity; and it might therefore be expected that the king would be ready to evince his gratitude by obedience to all his ordinances. But the bull, which bore evidence on its face of being a work of Zbynek, aimed particularly against Huss and his friends, was received with great indignation by important men in Bohemia and about the king's person. In the present excited state of feeling, men easily foresaw that great disturbances must necessarily arise if the archbishop carried the bull into execution. The cause of Huss was espoused by the most eminent of the nobility around the person of the king.† By their influence the king's preju-

* For Alexander's bull, see Raynaldi *Annales Ecclesiasticæ*. tom. XVII. p. 396.

† His connection with those in power was an odious imputation brought against Huss by the above-mentioned abbot of Dola; *Et popularis vulgi favor et sæculare bracium præstabat manifestum præsidium*. Pez, *Theſ.* IV. 2, p. 390. But Huss stood by no means in need of the secular power to promote the spread of his principles; but it was a consequence of the influence of his mind and of his principles on the minds

dices were excited against the bull and against Zbynek the author of it. His suspicions may have been aroused against Zbynek as an enemy to the realm, the man who had brought it into the bad odour of heresy, though he himself had, as Huss asserted, very recently declared it, as the result of an investigation made under the sanction of the assembly in Prague already mentioned, that no Wickliffite heresy existed at present in Bohemia. The bull was declared to be in many ways a garbled and interpolated one, and therefore of no force. Huss himself excited suspicions against it on this ground, and employed at first every lawful means in his power, under the circumstances of those times, to withhold obedience while he showed all respect to the Roman Church. He appealed from the pope *male informato* to the pope *melius informandum*. The archbishop, however, was not to be disturbed by all this. He issued his prohibition against preaching in private chapels, and applying this also to Bethlehem Chapel, Huss thought this contrary to the right granted in the foundation charter; he thought he was secured from harm himself by his appeal; and at all events was determined to act on the principle that it was right to obey God rather than men, and that no man should be induced to desist from a divine vocation by the arbitrary will of an individual. Zbynek issued, moreover, a command that all the writings of Wickliff should be delivered up to him for examination within six days. Huss obeyed this injunction, declaring himself ready (which certainly was honestly meant on his part, and cannot justly be ascribed to any motive of pride) to condemn them himself, whenever an error could be pointed out in them. Zbynek now actually proceeded, after many writings of Wickliff had been delivered up, to appoint a committee of examination in the manner prescribed in the bull; and this committee pronounced sentence of condemnation on a certain number of Wickliff's writings: the Dialogue, the Trialogue, and also

of the people and of the knights, from which everything else resulted as a matter of course; just as in later times Luther acquired, without seeking it, his mighty influence over the minds of the people and the knights, through the power of the truths which he proclaimed. From the respectable knights and barons, however, the influence in Bohemia passed over to the king.

(a thing which was afterwards particularly noticed by the friends of Wickliff, and with good reason, and which would cause the whole affair to be regarded in a more unfavourable light) on writings of simply philosophical import, as, for example, his important work on the reality of general conceptions, and on works containing nothing but mathematical and physical disquisitions, as their titles sufficiently indicated. These books were all to be committed to the flames, and thus put out of the way of doing harm. The very announcement of this sentence produced disturbances. At a convocation of the university, it was resolved to send in a petition to the king, that he would prevent the execution of such a sentence, on account of the extreme peril to which it would expose the peace of the university and of all Bohemia.* The king promised the delegates of the university that he would comply with their request. The archbishop, on hearing of this, hastened to get the start of the king; and on the next day, the 16th of June, repeated the proclamation of the above sentence on the writings of Wickliff. When the king learned of this, he caused the archbishop to be asked, whether it was really his intention to burn the books. Zbynek promised that he would do nothing against Wickliff's writings without the king's consent; and for this reason put off the execution of the sentence. But he was far from intending really to give up the execution of the sentence, in spite of all the remonstrances against such a proceeding, alleging, in excuse of his conduct, that the king had not *expressly forbidden* him to burn the books. On the 16th of July, 1410, having surrounded his palace with a watch, he actually caused two hundred volumes, among which were not only the writings of Wickliff, but also some of Militz and others, to be burned, without the slightest regard to rights of private property, as was afterwards remembered to his reproach. This step of the archbishop was the signal for great disturbances and violent controversies in Prague. Even blood was spilt. So great a movement in the minds of men could not be put down with force. The attempt to put it down by an act

* Ne exinde confusio toti regno, domino regi et universitati inferatur. See Pelzel's account of the life of king Wenceslaus I. in *Urkundsbuch*, No. 220, p. 130.

of arbitrary power, would have only led to still greater violence. The burning of the books had no other effect than to expose the archbishop to contempt and ridicule; and it was a great shock to his authority. Ribald and satirical songs, of which he was made the subject, were openly sung in the streets of Prague, to the purport, "the archbishop has yet to learn his A B C; he has caused books to be burned, without knowing what was in them!"* King Wenceslaus himself, though no friend of the archbishop, believed it necessary to put some check on these proceedings; and is said to have forbidden, on pain of death, these satirical songs on the archbishop.† Two contemporaries, belonging to the opposite parties, are agreed in stating that by this burning of his books, the enthusiasm for Wickliff was increased rather than diminished. One was Huss's zealous opponent, the abbot Stephen of Dola, who at the same time was blind enough to trace the origin of all the troubles to the disobedience of Huss. This writer cites, from the lips of one of Wickliff's adherents, the following words: "The archbishop has burnt *many* famous writings of Wickliff; yet he has not been able to burn them *all*. For we have still quite a number left; and we are continually searching in all quarters for others to add to this number, and to supply the place of those lost. Let the archbishop

* Pelzel, *Gesch. Wenceslaus*, Thl. II. s. 568.

† The abbot of Dola describes the impression produced by the burning of the books, in the words presently to be cited, but unjustly lays the blame of all, not on the caprice and folly of the archbishop, whom he designates as a man of God, but to the mischievous influence of Huss, though the whole was a natural consequence of the affair, and such as by the laws of human nature always take place under similar circumstances. The abbot of Dola says of the archbishop: *Factus fuit ex inobedientia et rebellione illius Mag. Hus velut contemptibilis et pæne fabula in populo, ita ut plerique insolentes vulgares ac ironicas de eodem viro Dei confingerent et decantarent cantiones publice per plateas contra justissimam et zelo catholice fidei commodam combustionem librorum istius hæreticæ pravitatis. Cujus cum frequentationem et irreverentiæ Christi odiosam multiplicationem leuocinantis cantici didicisset serenissimus et magnificus princeps Romanorum et Bohemiæ rex Wenceslaus, divino edoctus spiritu, voleus tam stolidam et publicam irreverentiam devota et debita recompensare reverentia, regio publicæ vocis statuit decreto, ut nequaquam quisquam amplius eandem dementiæ cantilenam non solum sub facultatum forensium, sed et sub capitalis sententiæ pœna audeat decantare.* Stephen of Dola in *Antihussus*, by Petz, IV. 2. pp. 417 and 418.

again bid us deliver them up to him, and let him see whether we will obey him!"† The second is Huss himself, who says: "I call the burning of books a poor business. Such burning never yet removed a single sin from the hearts of men (if he who condemned could not prove anything), but has only destroyed many truths, many beautiful and fine thoughts, and multiplied among the people disturbances, enmities, suspicions, and murders."* When now the news of the death of Alexander V. and of the accession to the government of John XXIII. arrived in Prague, Huss followed up his earlier appeal, already mentioned, by another addressed to this new pope. In this appellatory document he endeavoured to point out what was arbitrary and unreasonable in the conduct of Zbynek, that he had caused books to be burnt which contained no theological matter whatever, but which related simply to worldly sciences, quite contrary to the example of holy men of old, as, for example, Moses and Daniel, who appropriated to themselves the knowledge of unbelieving nations. Paul cited verses from Grecian poets; the church had always sanctioned the practice of studying the books of heretics for the purpose of refuting them; and at the universities provided with papal privileges, the writings of Aristotle and Averrhoes were studied, though they contained much that was contrary to the truths of faith. The writings of Origen were not burned, and yet heresies were to be found in them; and in the short space of time occupied by the commission, it was impossible that so many books could be so thoroughly read and examined as to enable the members to pass judgment upon them. Against the prohibition to preach in Bethlehem Chapel, he contends that Christ, who left behind him the seed of his word as the provision for souls, did not mean to have it bound. Christ himself preached everywhere, in the streets, in the fields, and on

* Pez, Thes. IV. 2, p. 386.

† Malum dico combustionem librorum, quæ combustio nullum peccatum de cordibus hominum (nisi condemnatores probaverint) sustulit, sed veritates multas et sententias pulchras et subtiles in scripto destruxit, et in populo disturbia, invidias, diffamationes, odia multiplicavit et homicidia. Hus, pro defensione libri de trinitate Joann. Wicel, Opp. I. fol. 106.

the lake. For if he had not left behind, for us, the seed of his word, we should have been even as Sodom and Gomorrah. After his resurrection, he had transferred the office of preaching to his disciples forever. With this commission of Christ, and the ordinances of the fathers, this prohibition of Zbynek stood in direct contradiction. And he cites the rule that, in things necessary to salvation, one should obey God rather than man. Huss made this appeal in conjunction with many other masters and preachers.* The language which he employs in it was little suited indeed to be understood or appreciated by the monster John XXIII. and the court which he had gathered. Huss, from this time onward, composed several writings, which seem to have had their origin in public disputations held by him in the university;† and in these productions he expounded, more at length, the reasons why he could not obey the archbishop in those ordinances, and defended many doctrines and writings of Wickliff against the condemnation that had been passed on them. These papers evince the Christian temper of his mind at that time: they show how firmly resolved he was already to suffer the loss of all things for the cause of Christ, and that even then martyrdom was not far absent from his thoughts; and they also show with what enthusiastic confidence, inspired by a Christian sense of the force of truth, he looked forward to the ultimate triumph of the truth he defended. We may mention here his tract *De Trinitate*, which he wrote in the year 1410. He begins the public academical act, from which that paper proceeded, by explaining, that it had never entered into his mind to persist in obstinately maintaining anything which was contrary to the Holy Scriptures, or in any way erroneous; but if he asserted anything of this sort, from ignorance or inadvertency, he would cheerfully and humbly retract it. And if any person of the church, whoever he might be, would teach him better by quotation from Scripture, or rational argument, he was perfectly ready to concur with him. "For," he says, "from the earliest period of my

* Appellatio Joann. Hus ab Archiepiscopo ad sedem apostolicam. Opp. I. fol. 89.

† As we infer from the words with which his tract *De Trinitate* begins: *Cathedram ascendo*. Opp. I. fol. 105.

studies until now, have I laid it down as a rule, that whenever I heard a more correct opinion on any subject whatever advanced, I would, with joy and humility, give up my earlier opinion; being well aware that what we know is vastly less than what we do not know."* In a later paper on Tythes, of the year 1412, he points out three different sources of the knowledge of that truth which is always to be held fast—holy Scripture, reason, and of the senses experience.† Not as though Huss meant to place these truths on a level, as to their *substance* and *matter*; but as truthfulness, and steadfastness in maintaining that which had been made out as true, belonged among the fundamental traits of his character, so he was resolved never to give up, at any price, a truth which he had gained whatever it might be, or from whatever source it might have come. We see how, in the soul of Huss, it was a principle already formed and firmly established, to derive all the truths of faith directly from Scripture, and to acknowledge nothing to be such truth which did not appear to rest on that foundation. As Christ was the great centre of his faith and of his life, so he had determined to adhere only to his word as the rule of faith and life. But with this he could still join a firm adherence to the existing doctrines of the church, being not as yet conscious of any contradiction between them and the sacred Scriptures; because his whole theological development had sprung out of the practical element. As he had not the remotest idea of deserting the actual church and forming a new one, so he could still seek to unite the two things together; though he was already firmly resolved to sacrifice everything to the truth as clearly gathered from the Scriptures, and to reject all that stood in conflict with it, or which he clearly made out to be such. He still clung to church tradition; but it appeared to him

* Nam a primo studii mei tempore hoc mihi statui pro regula, ut quotiescunque saniores sententiam in quacunque materia perciperem, a priori sententia gaudenter et humiliter declinarem, sciens, quoniam illa que scimus, sunt minima illorum, que ignoramus. Hus, De Trinitate, Opp. I. fol. 105.

† Videlicet in veritate in scriptura sacra explicita, in veritate ab infallibili ratione elaborata et in veritate experimentaliter a sensu cognita. Hus, De Decimis, Opp. I. fol. 125, 2.

only as the historical evolution of the truth contained, as to its essence, in the sacred Scriptures, an evolution of the germs therein contained, as he expresses in his tract *De Decimis*,* mentioned just above, where he says: "Law, as determined by the prelates, is styled canonical law; and its purpose is to restrain, within due limits, whatever stands in conflict with the holy laws of the church. It may be compared with the evangelical law, the latter being the articles of faith which have been determined by the holy synods. As the man remains the same, though he may appear in a different dress, and under different, changeable and accidental characters, so it is in the same law or the same evangelical truth which is contained *implicitly*, or unfolded in the gospel, and is afterwards expounded by the church in another but not contradictory manner."† He declares, in reference to the forty-five propositions of Wickliff, "Because it tends to prejudice too much the interests of salvation, to condemn any truth without examination,‡ as our Lord says, Judge not, that ye be not judged, the university of Prague demands, so far as it does not concur in the condemnation of those forty-five articles, the proof, from the appointed doctors, of the reasonableness of that condemnation, and that they should show wherein each of those articles is false by the authority of Scripture, or by arguments of infallible reason."

In reference to the prohibition directed against preaching in Bethlehem Chapel, he says: "Where is there any authority of Holy Writ, or where are there any rational grounds for forbidding preaching in so public a place, fitted

* Hus, Opp. I. fol. 128, 2.

† Jus canonicum vocatur jus a prælato vel prælatis institutum et promulgatum ad rebelles sacris regulis coercendum. Et potest etiam intelligi, ut communicans juri evangelico, ut sunt articuli fidei, in sanctis synodis sive conciliis explanati. Sicut enim idem est homo in vestibus aut accidentibus notitiam inducentibus varians, sic eadem est lex vel veritas evangelica in evangelio implicita vel detecta, et per ecclesiam postmodum aliter, sed non contrarie explanata.

‡ In the edition lying before us we find, it is true, exanime condemnare veritatem; but we think we may take it for granted that this, as many other passages in this edition of the works of Huss is incorrect, and that the text should read, sine examine. Defens. Quor. Art. J. Wicleff, Opp. I. fol. 111.

up for that very purpose, in the midst of the great city of Prague? Nothing else can be at the bottom of this, but the jealousy of Antichrist.* He exhibits Pope Alexander V. in contrast with the apostles. "For," says he, "when that pope heard at his court that Bohemia received the word of God, he did not send Peter and John to pray for the Bohemians, and to lay their hands on them, that in hearing the word of God they might receive the Holy Ghost; but he sent back some ill-disposed persons belonging to Bohemia, and commanded, in his bull, that the word of God should not be preached in private chapels."† Huss opposes to the arbitrary self-will of a man, which would hinder him from preaching, his own divine call. He says: "He who lives conformably to the law of Christ, and animated by a disposition of sincere love, has singly in view the glory of God, and his own and his neighbour's salvation, and preaches not lies, not ribaldry, not fables, but the law of Christ and the doctrines of the holy fathers of the church, he who so preaches when times of distress come, when a pope or a bishop is wanting, or he who takes his stand in opposition to heretics or false teachers, such a person never arrogates to himself the call to preach without authority; and it is not to be doubted, that the man in such case is sent of God." The eternal divine call, Huss asserts, which springs from the work of the Holy Spirit on the soul, is of more authority than any outward call proceeding from men; and a person may be constrained by this internal call from God to stand forth even in opposition to the

* De Trinit. Opp. I. fol. 106, 2. The abbot of Dola quotes as a common saying among the party of Huss, that the word of God cannot be bound. His opinion, on the contrary, was, that Huss had not been forbidden to preach at all, but only, for special reasons, to preach in this particular chapel; and here the duty of obedience to his superiors ought to have been felt by him as of paramount obligation. The Bethlehem Chapel is here denominated the *Wicleffistarum insidiosa spelunca*. It had not been forbidden him to preach, but to found a school in this place; which, however, in the sense of Huss was nothing else than to found here a genuine Christian church; though to this abbot it would appear only as a "School of Satan." So he expresses himself: *Non ut verbum Christi occultetur, sed ut occasio conventiculi et satanicæ scholæ illius impii Wicleff hæretici de medio tolleretur.* *Antihussus*, Pez, Thes. IV. 2, p. 373.

† *Responsio ad scriptum octo doctorum*, Opp. I. fol. 298, 1.

ordinances of man. Those ecclesiastical laws had been given only for the purpose of restraining the bad. Not for a righteous man is the law made, but for sinners. Where the spirit of God is, there is liberty.* Now we may easily conceive how revolting such language of Christian freedom of spirit must have appeared to those who knew of nothing higher than the stiff ordinances of the church; how they must have looked upon it as tending to the overthrow of all ecclesiastical order! But the objection now brought up, was that such an internal divine call was hidden from all but the subject of it. Every man could affirm this of himself: every heretic, every fanatic, might stand up under that pretence. Some outward sign of such an internal divine call was requisite therefore; either an express testimony of Holy Scripture, or an evident miracle. To this Huss replied: and the reader will be struck with the coincidence of the views he expresses with those of Matthew of Janow, —“ Antichrist was to have the power of deceiving by wonders. In the last times, miracles are to be retrenched from the church. She is to go about only in the form of a servant; she is to be tried by patience. The lying wonders of the servants of Antichrist are to serve for the trial of faith. By its own intrinsic power, faith shall preserve itself in the elect, superior to all arts of deception. This is the substance of that which Huss sets forth and illustrates by copious extracts from the sayings of the older church teachers. “Prophecy,” he says, “is wrapt in obscurity; the gift of healing removed; the power of long-protracted fasting diminished; the word of doctrine silent; miracles are withheld. Not that Divine Providence utterly suspends these things; but they are not to be seen openly and in great variety, as in earlier times. All this, however, is so ordered by a wonderful arrangement of Divine Providence, that God’s mercy and justice may be revealed precisely in this way; for while the church of Christ must, after the withdrawal of her miraculous gifts, appear in greater lowliness, and the righteous who venerate her on account of the hope of heavenly good, not on account of visible signs,

* *Justo enim lex non est posita, sed ubi spiritus Dei, ibi libertas, et si spiritu Dei ducimini, non estis sub lege.* Def. Articul. Quor. J. Wicleff, Opp. I. fol. 115.

fail of their reward in this earthly life, there will, on the other hand, be a more speedy manifestation of the temper of the wicked who, disdainng to follow after the invisible things which the church promises, cling fast to visible signs.”*

In this mode of contemplating the condition of the church in the last times, we recognise an adherent of the doctrine of absolute predestination; though the truth contained in these same views might also be held independent of this doctrine. This servant-form of the true church, in which the power of the *invisible* godlike is all that attracts, as contrasted with the abundance of lying wonders in the worldly church of Antichrist, appearing in visible glory, serves as a means of separating the elect from the reprobate. The elect must pass through this trial in order to bring out their genuine character; the reprobate must be deceived according to the just judgment of God. He proceeds to infer, therefore, from what had been said, that in these times it is rather the servants of Antichrist, than the servants of Christ, who will make themselves known by wonders. He says: “It is a greater miracle to confess the truth and practise righteousness, than to perform marvellous works to the outward senses.” And he then adds: “The priest or deacon who loves his enemies, despises riches, esteems as nothing the glory of this world, avoids entangling himself in worldly business, and patiently endures terrible threatenings, even persecutions for the gospel’s sake, such a priest or deacon performs miracles, and has the witness within him that he is a genuine disciple of Christ.” He appeals to various fine remarks of Augustin, Gregory, and Chrysostom, on mira-

* Nam prophetia absconditur, curationum gratia aufertur, prolixioris abstinentiæ virtus imminuitur, doctrinæ verba conticescunt, miraculorum prodigia tollentur. Quæ quidem nequaquam superna dispositio funditus subtrahit, sed non hæc, sicut prioribus temporibus aperte ac multipliciter ostendit, quod tamen mira dispensatione agitur, ut una ex re divina simul et pietas et justitia compleatur, dum enim subtractis miraculorum virtutibus sancta ecclesia velut abjectior apparet et bonorum præmium quiescit, qui illam propter spem cœlestium, non propter præsentia signa venerantur, et malorum mens contra illa citius ostenditur, qui sequi quæ promittit invisibilia negligunt, dum signis visibilibus continentur. Defensio Articul. quor. J. Wicleff, Opp. I. fol. 115, 2.

cles, those witnesses to the genuine Christian view of the miracle, which, inspite of all errors, runs through the whole history of the church, and also to the words of Christ, Matt. v. 16. John v. 38. Matt. vii. 22., and then concludes: "It is evident that every priest or deacon, who confesses the truth and practises righteousness, has a virtual testimony in this very thing, that he is sent of God, and that he needs not prove this divine mission by miracles, nor by an express passage of Holy Writ, relating personally to himself as one sent of God to preach the gospel."*

Even now Huss gives utterance to the resolution, which he observed faithfully to the end. "In order that I may not make myself guilty, then, by my silence, forsaking the truth for a piece of bread, or through fear of man, I avow it to be my purpose to defend the truth which God has enabled me to know, and especially the truth of the holy Scriptures, even to death; since I know that the truth stands, and is for ever mighty, and abides eternally; and with her there is no respect of persons.† And, if the fear of death should terrify me, still I hope in my God and in the assistance of the Holy Spirit, that the Lord himself will give me firmness. And if I have found favour in his sight, he will crown me with martyrdom.‡ But, what more glorious triumph is there than this? Inciting his faithful to this victory our Lord says: Fear not them that kill the body, (Matt. x. 28.)" We may here add the words uttered by

* Ex his patet, quod quilibet diaconus vel sacerdos confitens veritatem et faciens justitiam habet testimonium efficax, quod ipse est missus a Deo, et quod non oportet ipsum probare illam missionem per operationem miraculi, propter operationem justitiæ, nec per scripturam, quæ expresse ipsum nomine exprimeret, quod ad evangelisandum a Domino foret missus. Defensio, fol. 116, 2.

† Ne ergo istis speciebus consensus percuterer et specialiter consensu non reprehensionis, mutescens culpabiliter, propter buccellam panis, aut propter timorem humanum deserens veritatem, volo veritatem, quam mihi Deus cognoscere concesserit, et præsertim scripturæ divinæ usque ad mortem defendere, sciens, quia veritas manet et invalescit in æternum et obtinet in sæcula sæculorum, apud quam non est accipere personas neque differentias. De Trin., Opp. I. 106.

‡ Et si timor mortis terrere voluerit, spero de Deo meo et Spiritus Sancti auxilio, quod ipse Dominus dabit constantiam. Et si gratiam invenero in oculis suis, martyrio coronabit. Ibid.

Huss in his tract on Tythes : " As it is necessary for men gifted with reason to hear, to speak, and to love the truth, and to guard carefully against everything that might thwart it ; as the truth itself triumphs over everything and is mighty forever, (where he refers to the words of Christ : Let your communication be Yea, yea ; nay, nay) ; who but a fool would venture to condemn or to affirm any article, especially in what pertains to faith and manners, until he has informed himself about the truth of it ?* If some writers, both in ancient† and in modern times, have been disposed to find in Huss a proud or a fanatical striving after martyrdom, we cannot in this agree with them at all. It was simply the presentiment of death, which could not, in such a time, fail to fill the mind of a witness for the truth, coming out in the face of the world : for that truth to which he had devoted his entire life as a sacrifice. The conduct of Huss down to the hour of his martyrdom will show us nothing but the genuine Christian martyr, who with enthusiasm, yet with cool self-possession and resignation to the divine will, seeks not but accepts when offered the martyr's crown in godly joy from the hand of the giver. It was laid as a serious charge against Huss, as we have seen, that he publicly discussed contested articles of faith. In reference to this, he says : " How often did Christ dispute with companies of the Jews and priests ; how often, according to the Acts of the Apostles, did his disciples, how often have the holy teachers of the church, and the scholastic doctors, disputed on the matters of faith !"‡

The principles of Wickliff, which Huss defended, contained much that would make him appear to the advocates of the old hierarchical system a very dangerous adversary,

* De Decimis, Opp. I. fol. 125, 2.

† The abbot of Dola, in the year 1411, already finds that Huss will die at the stake rather than recant ; but from his false conception of humility and obedience, taken from the position of Roman Catholicism, he sees in this only a want of humility, and spiritual pride. So he says ; Antequam humiliatus revocans revocanda de tuæ sublimitatis descenderes pestilenti cathedra, ut vel sic tuorum lapidea corda confirmares te sequentium, traderes te potius flammis ultricibus concremandum. Antihussus, Pez Thes. IV. 2, p. 383.

‡ De Trinitate, Opp. I. fol. 107, 2.

a destructionist; and Huss himself, in defending these principles, was led to say many things which doubtless were liable to misapprehension. We have already remarked that, with Wickliff, he looked upon it as the destination of the clergy to copy, in all things, the example of Christ, who took upon him the form of a servant, and to resemble him, therefore, in poverty. Whatever the clergy obtained for their support, should be regarded simply as gift of free love. The spontaneous affection of those for whose spiritual benefit they laboured, should afford them what was necessary for the body.* But they should require only what was absolutely needful for their support, and nothing which ministered to superfluity.† From the superfluous abundance of temporal goods, he derived the corruption of the worldly clergy.‡ He was forced to complain that, especially in Bohemia, the fourth part of all the landed estates were in the hands of the clergy.‡ Accordingly, with Wickliff, he finds the princes to be in the right; and looks upon it as a work of Christian charity in them to deprive the clergy of that superfluity of earthly goods which they abused, and which was the means of their corruption.§ Thus should the clergy be brought back to poverty and to the holy life of the primitive apostolical church. This was an error, indeed, in the case of Huss as well as of Wickliff; an error that was followed by mischievous consequences, and which arose from their not paying sufficient regard to the course things had actually taken in history, and from their supposing that a glorious condition of the church, connected with an altogether different stage of progress, was to be thus suddenly restored from without. In expressing these views, Huss attached them to a proposition already laid down by the ancient teachers of the church, which, theoretically considered, contained in it a sublime truth, leading the mind back to Christ himself and the

* De Trinitate, Opp. I. fol. 107, 2.

† Compare his tract De Decimis, of the year 1412.

‡ Cum plus quam quarta pars regni sit devoluta ad manum mortuam. De Ablatione Bonorum, vol. I. 1412, Opp. I. fol. 122, 2.

§ L. a. fol. 120, 2: Rectificatio facillima cleri ad vitam Christi et apostolorum et pertinentior laicis, ne ipsi clerici vivant Christo contrarie, videtur esse eleemosynarum subtractio et collatarum ablatio.

apostles ; but which, empirically apprehended and applied to practice, might lead to the overthrow of all social order ; the proposition, namely, that all rightful holding of property, in the sight of God, was conditioned on the subjective worth of the owner ; that ownership could be predicated only of the righteous ; in support of which it was already customary among the ancients to quote Prov. xvii. 6, according to the Septuagint version and the Vulgate. Now when this proposition was employed in justification of the act of depriving the unworthy of their property, the consequences, no doubt, would be very bad. Huss cites, in favour of it, 1 Cor. iii. 21.* To the same category belongs, also, his defence of Wickliff's proposition, that No man is lord over any possession, no man can be king, or bishop, if he is in mortal sin. Huss distinguished three kinds of property—that grounded in nature, that grounded in civil law, and that proceeding from grace and justice. It never entered his thoughts to make sovereignty and supreme authority dependent on the personal worth of the incumbent, or to approve of rebellion against authority not so founded. The very distinction just set forth stood opposed to any such mode of apprehending and applying the proposition. He affirms what, rightly understood, could not be denied, that mortal sin infected not the whole life only, but as well every single action of the man in detail ; that everything depended on the governing disposition, which gave to everything its moral character. But nothing could be gained by this ; nothing but mischief could ensue when a proposition, correct in itself, was so paradoxically expressed, and applied to questions of right, a province of life where it ought never to be applied. Had it not been for the barren, subtle method of scholasticism in which the fifteenth century was still entangled to a far greater degree than the flourishing period of scholasticism had been in the thirteenth century, Huss would not have expended so much labour in demonstrating a point so unfruitful in its practical application and so liable to be misapprehended. But Huss defends

* *Temporales autem Domini procedentes secundum caritatis regulam juste possident illa temporalia, cum iustorum sunt omnia. De Ablat. Bon., Opp. I. fol. 119, 2.*

himself against the reproach, that by his mode of representing office as being conditioned on the personal worth of the holder, he destroyed its objective efficiency. He says: "We concede that a bad pope, bishop, or priest, is an unworthy minister of those sacraments by which God baptizes and consecrates, or in other ways operates for the advancement of his church. But in the same way he ordains much that is good through the instrumentality of the devil as his minister, being very mighty, glorious, and praiseworthy in this, that he effects such glorious ends by so reprobate a minister. But the minister effects it to his own condemnation."*

We have already remarked that the adversaries of Huss, who would have been very glad to represent him as an opponent of the doctrine of transubstantiation, since this would have served beyond anything else to fix upon him the charge of heresy, availed themselves for this purpose (perverting his words) of that spiritual apprehension of this sacrament in its significance for the internal Christian life, which was made specially prominent by Huss in his preaching. As Huss ever laid great stress on the expression that Christ is himself the bread of the soul, the provision for eternal life, his enemies seized on such expressions to create a suspicion that he did not really believe in the flesh and blood of Christ in the Lord's supper, as that into which the bread and wine had been transformed. It was the whispering about of such a suspicion which seems to have led Huss to compose his tract *De Corpore Christi*. In this treatise, also, we see how he gives prominence only to the practical side of religion; how very far he is from wishing to contend against the doctrine of transubstantiation. He portrays, in this tract, first the character of the gross Jews (*grossi Judæi*), who would not acknowledge Christ to be the bread of the soul, who said the body of Christ was broken, comminuted with the teeth, seen with the bodily eyes, and touched with the hands. We recognise here the same class of people that appeared first against Berenger, who, for the purpose of cutting off all possibility of a spiritual apprehension of

* *Responsio ad Scripta Paletz, Opp. I. fol. 256.*

the mystery, selected the most carefully-sought crass style of expression respecting the body of Christ in the supper, and who were ready to detect, in every more spiritual mode of expression, a denial of transubstantiation. He says of these people that in grossness of apprehension they were to be compared with those Jews who murmured against Christ in the synagogue of Capernaum. (John vi.) He joins those opponents of the crass phraseology respecting the body of Christ produced by the consecration, Hugo de St. Victor, Hildebert of Mans, and even Innocent III., in saying that "Christ is manducated spiritually. He abides in his divinity and his body wholly in heaven, and he abides in his divinity and his humanity wholly within the heart, so long as the sacrament is with thee. But when thou art not receiving the sacrament, and art without mortal sin, although he does not sacramentally and in his humanity abide in thee, he still, in his divinity and through grace, dwells in thy heart." He thinks it of importance to note, distinctly, that what the senses perceive is one thing, and what the eye of faith discerns quite another; a distinction which could be made without affecting the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Meantime the cause of Huss assumed a much darker aspect in the Roman court. The report of archbishop Zbynek relative to the Bohemian disturbances met with a far more cordial reception than the appeal of Huss, which was scarcely noticed. The pope committed the matter for investigation into the hands of cardinal Otto of Colonna, the same who was afterwards chosen pope by the council of Constance. This cardinal confirmed the sentence passed by archbishop Zbynek, and cited Huss to appear at Bologna, where the pope was then residing. This mode of proceeding aroused the indignation of the important party of Huss in Bohemia. Huss and his friends could with justice affirm that, owing to the great number of his enemies in Germany it would not be safe for him to undertake such a journey; that it would be sacrificing his life for nothing. In truth, the worst, and nothing but the worst, was to be expected, even should Huss succeed in getting to the Roman court, where there were so many to

whom he had made himself odious by attacking the corruptions that prevailed at that court.* Queen Sophia used all her interest in behalf of her father confessor. Wenceslaus, who looked upon archbishop Zbynek as the author of all the disturbances, the man who had brought his kingdom under suspicion, wrote in favour of Huss to the pope in Bologna and to the college of cardinals. He begged the pope to put a stop to the whole process, to impose silence on the enemies of Huss, to suppress the dispute concerning the books of Wickliff; since it was evident, that in his kingdom no man had fallen into error or heresy by occasion of those writings. "It is our will too," he wrote, "that Bethlehem Chapel, which, for the glory of God and the saving good of the people, we have endowed with franchises for the preaching of the gospel, should stand, and should be confirmed in its privileges; so that its patrons may not be deprived of their rights of patronage, and that Master Huss (whom he styles the loyal, devout, and beloved) may be established over this chapel and preach the word of God in peace." He demanded of the pope, moreover, that the personal citation of Huss should be revoked; and if any one had anything to object to him, that he should present his objections there within the realm and before the university of Prague, or some other competent tribunal.† King Wen-

* The abbot of Dola, in his Dialogue written in the year 1414, represents the "Goose," that is, Huss, his name signifying this in the Bohemian language, as saying, "I have many reasons for not obeying the citation to Rome. It was my intention, at first, to appear there, but my counsel and the counsel of the other party wrote me, that I should not come, because it would be sacrificing my life to no purpose. I refused, then, because I did not wish to neglect the people in the word of God, nor to expose my life when nothing was to be gained by it; for when a man stands before him as his judge, whose sins he has recklessly attacked, he manifestly gives himself up to death." To this his antagonist replied: "Huss, placing his confidence in God, had nothing to fear, and, after the example of Christ, ought to have appeared even before an unjust judge." Steph. Dol. *Dialogus Volatilis*, Pez IV. 2, pp. 464 et 465 *auca et passer*.

† The letter, according to a manuscript in the Imperial library at Vienna, in Palacky III. 1, p. 258, and the letter to the cardinals in Pelzel, *Urkundenbuch*, Nr. 221.

zel sent, in company with this letter to the pope, Doctor Nass, and Master John Cardinalis of Reinstein, a man often employed in embassies, a friend of Huss, and one who afterwards took an important part in the Hussite movements; and they were to request the pope to send a legate to Bohemia at the king's expense. He also wrote to cardinal Colonna, and requested him to come to Prague himself, and inform himself of the actual state of things by personal observation. He directed that the pope should be informed by Doctor Nass, to whom the pope was a personal friend, that nothing but his respect for the pope prevented him from bringing the author of all these disturbances in his kingdom to condign punishment. Huss at the same time sent with these persons three procurators to Rome, as his representatives and advocates in the carrying on of the process,—his friend, Master Jesenic, a jurist, and two doctors of theology. Cardinal Colonna had already, in February, 1411, pronounced sentence of excommunication *in contumaciam* against Huss, for not obeying the citation. Still, however, the pope was moved by the intercession of the king to take the cause out of the hands of Colonna, and to appoint a new commission; among the members of which we may mention cardinal Francisco a Zabarellis, archbishop of Florence, as one who on account of his disposition to favour reform, stood better affected towards Huss than many others. Meanwhile archbishop Zbynek had made every exertion through his delegates at Bologna to prevent the course already taken against Huss, and his citation from being revoked. He is said to have been most lavish in his presents, sending horses, vases, and costly rings, to the pope, and other gifts of the same kind to the cardinals.* But, through some unknown influence, the cause was afterwards transferred to cardinal Brancas alone, who, in spite of all the remonstrances made by the procurators of Huss, kept the whole affair in suspense for a year and a half. Inasmuch, therefore, as the excommunication of Huss had not been

* Chronic. Univers. Prag. MS. in Palaucky III. 1, S. 264, and compare what Master Jesenic says on the matter of the bribes in his protest. Hus, Opp. I. fol. 332.

revoked, the archbishop regarded it as valid, and had it published in all the churches except two, whose rectors declined to read it. As regards the procurators of Huss, since they persisted in demanding that his cause should undergo a new investigation, some of them were thrown into prison, the others returned back to Prague when they saw that nothing was to be done. At length, cardinal Brancas brought up the process against Huss. The former sentence was confirmed with additional severity. The cardinal issued a public declaration, styling Huss a heresiarch, and laying the city where he resided under interdict.* Archbishop Zbynek carried this measure into effect, and the interdict was imposed on Prague. But Huss and his friends did not consider themselves bound by these arbitrary sentences, passed without giving both parties a hearing. King Wenzel, whose remonstrances addressed to the archbishop had had so little effect, warmly espoused the side of Huss. The clergy who were inclined to observe the interdict, had to endure violent persecutions; their goods were confiscated; many of them fled the country. Thus the contest between the clergy and the secular power in Bohemia seemed to have reached its acme; when the whole affair took another turn, and a hope began to be cherished that the present commotions would yet be hushed to rest. Zbynek was forced to perceive that he was too weak to carry through his purpose in opposition to the king and the party of Huss. Reflecting that the schism in the church still continued to subsist, looking at the feebleness of pope John, who made himself every day more odious by his abominable life, and his disgraceful administration, Zbynek could not hope for assistance from the Roman court; and, besides, pope John was too deeply involved in other affairs lying nearer his heart to be able to bestow any particular attention on the disturbances in Bohemia. The archbishop was forced, therefore, to the conviction, that, if he pushed matters to the extreme, he would only run the risk of losing all his

* See the report given by Huss himself, which may serve as the authority for the facts related in the foregoing pages. Opp. I. fol. 86, seq.

authority in Bohemia; a result which would be inevitable, if sharper spiritual measures were continually resorted to, while yet every one of them was trifled with. Hence he was the rather inclined, for the sake of saving his authority, finally to give way to the efforts of the king and of the university for the restoration of peace, and to offer his hand for reconciliation.

In the beginning of July, 1411, a committee was appointed, consisting of ten,—princes, notables of the secular and spiritual orders,—persons who had taken no part in the preceding controversies, to devise the best means for establishing peace in Bohemia. Wenzel, archbishop Zbynek, and both parties pledged themselves to submit to the decision of this committee.* They settled upon the following terms of agreement: king Wenceslaus and the archbishop should both write to the pope, and the latter report to him, that no heresies existed in Bohemia; a new inquiry, however, should be made into this matter, and if anything of a heretical character might still be found, it should be condignly punished. Zbynek should obtain the pope's consent that if any person belonging to the Bohemian realm, of the secular or spiritual order, lay under the ban, this should be removed by the pope; both parties should recal their procurators from Rome, and be satisfied with the decision of the king; the archbishop should remove the ban and interdict; and, on the other hand, the king should restore the salaries which had been withholden from the clergy, and release such as were under arrest. Zbynek actually drew up such a letter to the pope, reporting that no heresies were propagated in Bohemia, and requesting him to remove the excommunication which had been pronounced on Huss, and to revoke the citation which had been served on him.† In connection with this compact, Huss laid before the university of Prague, in official form, near the beginning of January, in this year, 1411, a confession of faith designed to vindicate himself against those aspersions which had

* See the report of Penzel, with the documents in the historical work above cited, and the narrative by Huss quoted on the preceding page.

† See the letter in the Works of Huss, I. fol. 87, 2.

been cast upon his orthodoxy, which confession was to be transmitted to Rome. Huss declares in this paper, that, "to show due obedience to the church of Jesus Christ and to its supreme head, I am ready to give to every man an account of the faith that is in me, and confess with my whole heart that Jesus Christ is true God and true man, that his whole law is of such stable truth, that not one jot or tittle thereof can fail; next, that his church is so firmly established on the firm rock, that the gates of hell can never prevail against it; and I am ready, trusting on my Lord Jesus Christ, to endure the punishment of a terrible death, sooner than consciously to say anything which would be contrary to the will of Christ and of his church." And so he testified that he had been falsely accused before the apostolical see by his enemies. Among these false accusations, he cites the following: That he had taught the people that the substance of the bread and wine still remained after the consecration; that at the elevation of the host, Christ's body was present, but not when it was set down again; that a priest in mortal sin could not consecrate;* that the lords should deprive the clergy of their temporal goods; that tythes ought not to be paid;† that indulgences were nothing;‡ that he had advised to the employment of the secular sword against the clergy; that he had taught some heresy or other, or drawn the people

* Huss, in his work on Tythes, has distinctly expressed this conviction of his respecting the objective character of sacramental acts independent of the subjective character of the person administering them: *Cum non virtute propria, sed Dei hæc faciunt satis rite prosunt ecclesiæ. De Decimis, Opp. I. fol. 134, 1.* He was actually accused of having asserted in his sermons about the year 1399, that only a priest in the state of grace and not one chargeable with mortal sin can truly consecrate; but Huss was able to appeal to the fact, that, from the first year of his active labours as a preacher and onward, he had uniformly taught the opposite to this. *Comp. Depos. Test. in the Stud. u. Krit. 1837, I, p. 127.*

† Huss had not asserted this unconditionally; but only that if the clergy violated their duty and abused their power, they might be deprived of the tythes.

‡ Huss had hitherto spoken only against the abuse of indulgences by such as made a trade of spiritual things; not against the right of granting indulgences itself, with regard to which right it was still under controversy how far it extended.

aside from the right faith; that he had driven the Germans from the university of Prague, &c.*

We may observe it as a thing of no rare occurrence in great epochs of the history of the world, where one mode of thinking and feeling has been brought into direct conflict with its opposite, and by means of such conflict the way is preparing for new and important developments, that when these antagonisms have arrived at their utmost tension, a way of compromise or adjustment from some foreign quarter seems to be ready prepared for the occasion. A superficial view of history might lead one to suppose, that now, if some other disturbing cause had not interfered to prevent the adoption of this compromise, and if but this or that means had been added by a cunning policy, the whole course of events would have taken an altogether different direction. But, on the contrary, we should understand, that such a compromise as would seem desirable by those who contemplate the case only from the outside, and are simply wishing for quiet and peace, without any sympathy for the internal struggle of the antagonistic forces, is a thing idle and nugatory in itself, bearing within it the causes of its failure, the seeds of its own frustration; for it is utterly impossible to sever by outward interference the threads of history, to force back again by some diplomatic mediation or other, deep-grounded antagonisms taken in the midst of their development. The impelling principles and ideas, which constitute history, are of mightier force than the purposes and designs of men. This was seen in the present instance. The reform tendency which had begun with Miltz, and had been continually developing itself, and which must, finally, come into inevitable conflict with the hierarchical system,—the antagonism between the two tendencies in the Bohemian church, which from this time became daily more distinctly pronounced, could not be suppressed by the momentary interest of the king and the archbishop, and by a compromise of their respective policies. Although, for the moment, the letter of the compact might actually be fulfilled by all the parties con-

* This confession is in the Works of Huss, but more correctly printed in Pelzel, Urkundenbuch Nr. 230.

cerned, yet sooner or later would the more deep-grounded antagonism again come to an outbreak. Archbishop Zbynek, however, could hardly be quite in earnest about this compromise. He could not become reconciled with the anti-hierarchical party in Bohemia; nor could they, any more, abandon their principles. In truth, Zbynek afterwards expressly declared, in his exculpatory letter to the king, that he could not report to the pope that priests who did not observe the interdict, should not be regarded as punishable. He must once more complain, that what he called heresy was preached by many clergymen, and that he was not permitted to apply his ecclesiastical power of punishing to those who set forth erroneous doctrines. It did not require, therefore, the dissatisfaction with king Wenzel who, as Zbynek pretended, had failed in fulfilling the conditions of the compromise, to prevent the archbishop from complying with his part of the agreement. Since, then, he could not but foresee that under these circumstances it would be impossible for him to maintain his authority in Bohemia, or to carry out his measures by force, he resolved, instead of fulfilling the terms of the agreement, to quit Bohemia for the present, and to seek assistance from Wenzel's brother, king Sigismund, in Ofen.* In the beginning of September of the year 1411, he carried this resolution into effect. But death surprised him before he could have an interview with king Sigismund.†

* The abbot of Dola rightly apprehended the state of the case from his own point of view, as we see from what he says respecting the flight of the archbishop: *Affectus tædio (sciens, quod metus pro tempore etiam in constantem virum cadere possit) paululum abscondit se, dum dimissa sui episcopatus pontificali cathedra exivit de terra et diœcesi propria Bohemia.*

† If we may credit the abbot of Dola, this was represented by the Hussite party as a divine judgment; of which interpretation, however, not a trace is to be found in the writings of Huss. The abbot views it rather in the light of a martyrdom, in which the archbishop passes away in the midst of contests to receive the crown of victory. He says: *M. Hus se et suam rebellionem justificans magna cum lætitia cum suis omnibus vociferans affirmabat, eundem antistitem, tanquam primum et capitalem adversarium suum, in vindictam et causæ suæ triumphum sic esse tanquam profugum extinctum. On the contrary, says he: ut sui certaminis optimæ retributionis reciperet præmia. Antihussus, Pez IV., 2, pp. 418 et 419.*

The successor of Zbynek was not inclined to take a very lively interest in church controversies; and if an event had not soon after happened by which the opposite parties were necessarily thrown into a more violent and important contest with each other than any which had yet occurred, a temporary truce might have ensued. The individual who assumed the archiepiscopal dignity was a man on good terms with king Wenceslaus, quite ignorant of theological matters and ecclesiastical affairs, and who would have been glad to let everything go on quietly, a man who had been elevated to this post for reasons quite different from a spiritual call. This was Albic of Unitzow, the king's physician, who, after obtaining some reputation as a medical author, had but recently passed through the inferior spiritual grades, and was already at an advanced period of life. To him, peace was the most desirable of all things. But where so many combustible materials were present, it required but a small spark to set everything in flames. An occasion of this sort grew out of circumstances connected with the entrance of the new archbishop upon his office, though without any fault of his own. The papal legate, who bore the pallium to the newly-appointed primate, was directed at the same time to publish the bull, put forth in a manner worthy of himself by Pope John XXIII., pronouncing in the most awful forms the curse of the ban on the pope's enemy king Ladislaus of Naples, adherent of Gregory XII., as on a heretic, a schismatic, a man guilty of high treason against the majesty of God; and proclaiming a crusade for the destruction of his party; together with a bull granting full indulgence to all who took part in this crusade. All who personally bore arms in this crusade were promised, if they truly repented and confessed themselves, (which, in this connection, surely could mean nothing but a mere form,) the forgiveness of their sins, as fully as in participating in any other crusade. Following the example of cupidity set up by Boniface IX., this bull offered the like indulgence to those also who would contribute as much in money as, in proportion to their means, they would have expended by actively engaging in this crusade for the space of a month. The papal legate, who from what he had

heard about Huss might probably expect to meet with opposition on his part, requested archbishop Albic to summon Huss before him, and, in the archbishop's presence, demanded of him whether he would obey the apostolical mandates. Huss declared that he was ready, with all his heart, to obey the apostolical mandates. Then said the legate to the archbishop: "Do you see? the master is quite ready to obey the apostolical mandates?" But Huss rejoined: "My lord, understand me well. I said I am ready, with all my heart, to fulfil the *apostolical* mandates; but I call apostolical mandates the doctrines of the apostles of Christ; and so far as the *papal* mandates agree with these, so far I will obey them most willingly. But if I see anything in them at variance with these, I shall not obey, even though the stake were staring me in the face."* In fact he was too deeply imbued with the spirit of the gospel not to turn with disgust from such papal bulls as these. He had the good of souls too near at heart not to feel constrained, by a sort of necessity, to prevent the corruption and ruin which must accrue to religion and morality from the execution of such bulls. He had until now, as we have seen, simply attacked the abuses in the matter of indulgences, practised by the wicked clergy. He was now led to enter more deeply into the whole subject; and by so doing would, of necessity, be led also to advance another stage in his attacks upon the pope. King Wenzel, who was incapable of calculating the consequences of this affair,

* Requisitus coram Pragensi archiepiscopo Albico per legatos Romani Pontificis Joannis XXIII., an velim mandatis apostolicis obedire, respondi, quod affecto cordialiter implere mandata apostolica. Legati vero habentes pro convertibili mandata apostolica et mandata Romani Pontificis, aestimabant, quod vellem erectionem crucis contra regem Apuliæ Ladislaum et contra omnem gentem sibi subditam et contra Gregorium XII. populo prædicare. Unde dicebant legati: Ecce domine archiepiscope! ipse jam mandatis domini nostri vult parere. Quibus dixi: Domini intelligatis me. Ego dixi, quod affecto cordialiter implere mandata apostolica et ipsis omnino obedire sed voco mandata apostolica doctrinas apostolorum Christi, et de quanto mandata Pontificis concordaverint cum mandatis et doctrinis apostolicis, secundum regulam legis Christi, de tanto volo ipsis paratissime obedire. Sed si quid adversi concepero, non obediam, etiamsi ignem pro combustionem mei corporis meis oculis præponatis. Responsio ad Scriptum octo Doctorum, Opp. I. fol. 293, 2.

was induced from motives of policy to grant his consent to the publication of the bull. The forms of absolution, drawn up in accordance with this bull, were such that Stephen Paletz, thus far the friend of Huss, and then dean of the theological faculty, himself first directed the attention of Huss to the objectionable features in them, and declared to him that such things ought not to be approved. Huss says of Paletz: "If he confesses the truth, he will own that, in relation to the articles of absolution which he was the first to make known to me, he declared them to contain palpable errors."* Huss, therefore, might still be hoping to stand united with his old friends in this contest. But the contrary was soon manifest. The opposite temper of the men must needs come forth to the light, when the question to be decided was, as at present, whether the cause of evangelical truth should appear paramount to all temporal and churchly interests. And in the minds of Stephen Paletz and Stanislaus of Znaim the course to be taken in such a crisis seems to have been already decided by impressions left at an earlier date, and the force of which could never be lost on men of their stamp, who had no idea of becoming martyrs for the cause of gospel truth. Among the persons sent by king Wenceslaus, in the year 1408, as envoys to pope John at Bologna, to treat for his vote in favour of that prince as a candidate for the imperial dignity, were these two individuals; and the stand which they had taken until this time, amid the controversies in Bohemia, may have brought it about—unless, perhaps, it was brought about by the freedom of their remarks on the way—that they were cast into prison and deprived of all they possessed. It was only by the interposition of the college of cardinals that they recovered their liberty. Huss certainly had just reasons for suspecting that they were intimidated by this danger, into which they had been brought by the free expression of their opinions, and that they meant to be more cautious for the future. He says of Stanislaus, he had boldly defended those forty-five articles in the convocation of the university, and continued to do so till he was forced to write

* Si enim vult veritatem fateri, recognoscet, quod articulos absolutionum, quos ipse mihi manu sua præsentaverat, dicebat esse errores manu palpabiles. Resp. ad Script. Steph. Paletz, Opp. I. fol. 264, 2.

the contrary, till he was oppressed by the court of Rome, and robbed of his property by him whom he now calls Head of the holy Catholic church.* And in replying to a statement of Stanislaus, that the pope was the safest refuge for all the faithful, Huss remarked that Christ, with infinitely more ease, could have prepared a safer place of refuge for Stanislaus and Paletz, than in the Roman court, by enabling them to arrive at the certain truth in a doubtful matter without subjecting them to robbery and imprisonment.† Intimidated in this way already, the two men were not disposed to resist the execution of a bull in Bohemia which met with the king's approbation, and to fall wholly out with the pope. They now appeared as defenders of the pope's authority against Huss, and stood up for obedience to superiors, whose commands no man should presume to examine into. Paletz, in the name of the theological faculty, offered a resolution of this sort: "We do not take it upon us to raise objections against the lord apostolical or his letters, to pass any judgment whatever upon them, or to determine anything with regard to them; as we have no authority for it."‡ But Huss, in accordance with his principles, could not believe in any such blind obedience; obedience to his Master Christ, the observance of *his* doctrine, and the copying of *his* example, stood first in importance with him. This was the rule by which everything was to be examined, by which the limit of all obedience was determined; and this principle it was, by occasion of which it was laid to his charge that, by making the commands of the superior dependent on the criticising judgment of his subjects, he relaxed the bonds of all civil and ecclesiastical order; and accordingly it was remarked, that by the course he pursued he would introduce the dangerous error that obedience might be refused to letters patent of popes, emperors, kings, and lords, if the truth and reasonableness of such letters could not be made clear

* Resp. ad Script. Stanislai de Znoyma. Opp. I. fol. 288, 1.

† Ibid. fol. 284, 1.

‡ Nolumus nec attendimus attentare aliquid contra dominum apostolicum aut suas literas, aut eas quovis modo judicare vel definire, cum ad hoc nullam auctoritatem habeamus. Adv. Indulgentias Papales, Opp. I. fol. 175, 1.

to the understanding of the subjects. And who could calculate what disorders would spring up, all over the world, from this opinion?* So he was called a revolutionist. His opponents believed, it is true, that men were bound to unconditional obedience to those in power only in that which was not absolutely wicked, or that which is in itself indifferent.† But to what extent was the phrase, "that which is in itself indifferent," to be stretched? As for Huss, he could not look upon that which the bull required as a thing indifferent, but only as a thing directly opposed to the law of Christ, and sinful. To obey, in this case, would be the same as to abandon his principle of obeying God rather than man. He then spoke, for the last time, with his old friend Paletz, whom he next met as his fiercest enemy, preparing destruction for him at Constance. His last words to him, the words with which he must sunder the tie of friendship that had so long united them, were an adaptation of Aristotle's remark in speaking of his relation to Socrates: "Paletz is my friend, truth is my friend; and both being my friends, it is my sacred duty to give the first honour to truth."‡ An important crisis for the fate of Huss and the reform movements in Bohemia, was the sundering of the bond which united the Bohemian party at Prague university, a party which had thus far been kept together by identity of philosophical and theological, as well as of national interests. In proportion to the cordiality of their earlier friendship, was now the virulence of the animosity between these men, as generally happens in transitions from friendship to enmity. Neither his friend nor his teacher could ever forgive Huss for presuming to stand forth against their authority, as well as the authority of the whole theological faculty, composed of eight doctors, for presuming to be more bold and more free minded than themselves. Huss himself marks the critical moment which separated him for ever from his

* Resp. ad Script. octo Doct., Opp. I. fol. 294, 1.

† Ipsi enim posuerunt, quod papæ semper est obediendum, dum præcipit quod est purum bonum, et quod non est purum malum, sed medium. Resp. ad Script. St. Paletz, Opp. I. fol. 263, 2.

‡ Amicus Paletz, amica veritas, utrisque amicis existentibus, sanctum est præhonore veritatem. Ibid. fol. 264, 2.

former associates: "The sale of indulgences and the lifting of the standard of the cross against Christians, first cut me off from my old friends."* Compelled to stand forth as an opponent to his old teacher Stanislaus of Znaim, he still never forgot his obligations to him as an instructor: as he says in the paper he wrote against him:—"Though Stanislaus was my teacher, from whom, in the discipline of the school, I learnt a great deal that is valuable, still I must answer him as the truth impels me to do, that the truth may be more apparent."† Huss felt himself called upon to lay a firm foundation for his convictions on these subjects. He resolved to hold a disputation on indulgences, before a numerous convocation of the university, where also his friend Jerome intended to appear, having first, by many posted bills, directed public attention to this disputation, which was to be held on the 7th of June. We learn in what way Huss attacked the papal bulls and the whole subject of indulgences, in this disputation, from the paper in which he drew out at length his remarks on that occasion;‡ and for the purpose of getting a more exact knowledge of the Christian position on which Huss planted himself, and of his activity at this particular crisis, we propose to enter a little more minutely into the contents of this performance. Huss begins by explaining what had led him into the contest: "I was moved to engage in this affair," he says, "by a threefold interest; the glory of God, the advancement of holy church, and my own conscience. Therefore in relation to all that is now to be said, I call God almighty and omniscient to witness, that I seek first of all things God's glory and the good of the church. For to these objects every mature Christian is strictly bound by the commandment of the Lord; and for the good reason that every one should love Christ and his church infinitely

* Nam indulgentiarum venditio et crucis adversus Christianos erectio me ab isto doctore primum separavit. Resp. ad Script. &c.

† Et quamvis ipse Stanislaus magister meus extiterit, a quo in suis exercitiis et actibus scholasticis multa bona didici, tamen veritate instigante animum meum, cogor ad sua dicta, ut magis veritas appareat, utrunque dabitur, respondere. Resp. ad Ser. Stanislai de Znoyma, Opp. I. fol. 265, 1.

‡ Quæstio de indulgentiis sive de cruciata papæ Joannis XXIII. fulminata contra Ladislaum Apuliæ regem, Opp. I. fol. 174, seq.

more than his bodily parents, temporal goods, his own honour, or himself. It is moreover my opinion, that the glory of Christ, and of his bride the church, consist particularly in the practical imitation of the life of Christ himself in this, that a man lay aside all inordinate affections, and all human ordinances that would hinder or obstruct him in the pursuit of his object." He protests that he will never affirm anything contrary to the holy Scriptures that contain Christ's law, or against his will. "And when I am taught, by any member of the church, or by any other creature whatsoever, that I have erred in my speech, I will openly and humbly retract it." "Therefore," says he, "in order that I may proceed more safely, I will place myself on the immovable foundation, the corner stone, which is the truth, the way, and the life, our Lord Jesus Christ; and I hold it fast, as the faith of the church, that he who observes not the ordinance and the law which Christ established, and which he also taught and observed by himself and by his apostles, does not follow the Lord Jesus Christ in the narrow way that leadeth to life, but goes in the broad way which leads the members of the devil to perdition." Here Huss has laid down the principle by which he conceived himself bound to try all human ordinances, and the bulls of the popes as well. He maintains, on this principle, that it is not permitted the faithful to approve these bulls. Nothing but what proceeds from love, can be approved by Christ; but assuredly neither the shedding of blood among Christians, nor the laying waste and impoverishing of countries, can have proceeded from love to Christ; nor could such an enterprise afford any opportunity for martyrdom. He explains what is meant by "indulgence," holding to the term and sense in which it was no doubt understood in the papal bulls, and not going back to the original import of the old word *indulgentia*, viz. remission. Indulgence denotes the pardon of sin; which, in his view, was the work of God alone; but priestly absolution consisted in this, that the priest in the sacrament declared the person confessing to him to be in such a state of contrition as fitted him, if he died immediately, to enter, without passing through the fires of purgatory, into the heavenly mansions. And the power of the priest, in

the last extremity, was not so restricted that he might not promise, so far as God who revealed it to him permitted, the pardon of sin; but it would be too great presumption to suppose that any vicar of Christ could rightfully attribute to himself such power of absolution, if God had never given him a special revelation on the subject; for otherwise he would be guilty of the sin of blasphemy. But how would it help the matter, supposing the subjects should clamorously demand such absolution; for assuredly they must believe that Christ, the most righteous judge, would judge them according to the measure of their merit or demerit. But though with Christ, who is present everywhere, contrition suffices, still the sacrament of penance is very necessary, though it can avail nothing except on the presupposition of contrition. It was a foolish thing, therefore, for a priest not informed by divine revelation that penance or some other sacrament availed for the salvation of the individual to whom it was administered, to bestow on him unconditional absolution. "Hence the wise priests of Christ give only a conditional absolution, conditioned, namely, on the fact that the person confessing feels remorse for having sinned, is resolved to sin no more, trusts in God's mercy, and is determined for the future to obey God's commandments." Hence he argues that every one who receives such indulgence will actually enjoy it just so far as he is fitted to do so by his relation to God. He holds it to be the duty of prelates to instruct the people in this truth, so that the laity may not spend their time and labour on that which cannot profit them. He declares it to be allowable for a Christian man to contribute in aid of a war carried on by the secular power, if it be a Christian power; which implies that it be not waged for a mere earthly advantage, which the Christian should count as dross, but for the defence of the faith, to bring back to unity those with whom the war is carried on; or if this end is frustrated on their part, that charity should ever hold the reins, and the force of arms be employed only so long as might be necessary to open the way for reasonable negotiations. He next declares that it was neither permissible nor advantageous for a pope or for any bishop or clerk whatsoever, to fight for worldly dominion or worldly wealth. This might be understood from the

example of Christ, whose vicar the pope was; for Christ did not fight, nor did he command his disciples to fight, but forbade them. He here cites the words of Christ, Luke xxii. 51. In the language of St. Bernard, he maintains that the pope ought not to contend for secular things. Without doubt he may exhort princes to protect the faithful, by force, against the invasions of infidels or barbarians; but the secular sword belongs not to priests, but to the worldly profession of arms, the special intention of which is to defend the law of Christ and of his church. But the safer way was to contend spiritually, not with the secular sword, but with prayer to Almighty God, to persuade the enemy to concord by negotiations, even though by such a course, which to men might seem like madness, one should in case of need suffer death. This rule St. Paul gives, in Rom. xii. 19; "would that the pope might humbly adopt this rule of St. Paul." He looked upon the pope's conduct as contrary to the example of Christ, who reprimanded his disciples for desiring to call down fire from heaven upon his enemies, Luke ix. 54. "Oh that the pope, then," he says, "would, like the apostles, who desired to avenge their Lord, have addressed himself to the Lord, and with the cardinals said to him, Lord, if it be thy will, we would call upon all, of both sexes,* to combine for the destruction of Ladislaus and Gregory and their companions in guilt; and perhaps the Lord would have answered, Ye know not what spirit ye are of, when ye seek to ruin so many souls of men by ban, sentence of condemnation, and destruction of life. Why do ye thus set at naught my example, I who forbade my disciples to be so cruelly zealous against those that crucified me, who prayed, Father! forgive them, they know not what they do? If the pope, then, would subdue his enemies, let him follow the example of Christ, whose vicar he styles himself, let him pray for his enemies and the church; let him say, My kingdom is not of this world; let him show them kindness; let him bless those that curse him; for then will the Lord, according to his promise, give him a power of utterance and wisdom, which they will

* Alluding to an expression in the bull in which all persons of both sexes and of every rank, are called upon to furnish aid to the pope for destroying Ladislaus, and are promised, on this condition, the pardon of their sins.

never be able to gainsay." Next, Huss noticed the objection of those who said, in those days, Such literal imitation of Christ is confined to the "evangelical counsels," designed for those that strive after Christian perfection,—for the monks. As we may conclude from several expressions of Huss already cited, he would doubtless have preferred to say that all Christians were bound to strive after the same; and instead of fighting with the secular sword, should contend only with the weapons of prayer and the word; but he was sensible that, in the present state of things, this was not to be looked for. He distinguishes, as we have already observed, the three different ranks of society; but he demands of the clergy that they at least should so deport themselves, as if they considered that to be a command for them which, to others, was only a counsel. All priests, he says, should aim at the highest perfection, because they are representatives of the apostles, and particularly the pope, who should exhibit, in his conduct, the highest degree of perfection, after the example of Christ and of Peter. "All priests are bound to the same rule of perfection; certainly the priesthood is the summit of perfection in the militant church. The precepts, therefore, that forbid contention for earthly things, concern all priests in general." The clergy, according to him, should literally observe the precepts of the sermon on the mount; as, for example, Matt. v. 40, "from which it is evident," he says, "that, although not to go to law about earthly matters, is for Christians of a *subordinate stage* a counsel, yet as applied to *priests* it changes, according to place and time, into a command. Ignorance in these matters is no excuse for a priest; because they are commanded, as persons ordained to act as presidents, judges, and teachers, to have knowledge of the law, and to explain it to those under them in all its several parts. This ignorance of holy Scripture, being a guilty ignorance, renders the priest the more condemnable, as it is the mother of all other errors and vices among themselves and the people." He then passes to the laity, and endeavours to show that if they followed the invitation of the bull, and by their contributions upheld the pope in things at variance with his calling, they could not wholly excuse themselves by pleading ignorance, since

it was ignorance which they might doubtless have avoided ; in fact, it seemed that there was no such ignorance, but, on the contrary, they had knowledge enough, only it was asleep ; for when they saw priests attending spectacles, putting themselves on a par with the world, meddling in secular business, they directly murmured against them, in accordance with the Catholic tradition, though these were trifles when compared with carrying on war and legal suits for earthly ends. After showing that the laity were without excuse for their ignorance, which he ascribes, moreover, to the lack of a real interest in religion, he proceeds to speak of the absolute indifference which led many to obey the bull, who said, "What matters it to us, whether the bull is a good or a bad one? We can eat and drink without disturbance, if we are left to our peace; others may do what they please." He then comes to a third class, who obeyed from cowardice. And this reproach he casts particularly upon the theologians; men conversant with the Scriptures, who obeyed, he says, in opposition to their own consciences, who thought of the bull in one way and spoke openly of it in another. "They tremble," he says, "who should yield to no fear of the world; tremble lest they should lose their temporal goods, the honour of this world, or their lives." He then attacks the unchristian expressions in the bull, where it spoke of destroying Ladislaus to the third generation, in contradiction to Ezek. xviii. 20; where it calls Ladislaus and his adherents blasphemers and heretics, although this was not manifest from any trial to which *he* had been subjected, and although his subjects were included, poor weak people, men and women, acting under constraint. Referring to the definition above given of indulgence, he says: "On this point, he who is blind may judge, whether pardon of sin is not bestowed for a consideration in money." Is not this true simony? He then quotes some of the really scandalous language used by the papal commissioners for the sale of indulgences,—language well calculated to revolt every Christian feeling, as it had at first revolted even the feelings of Paletz—such expressions as the following: "By the apostolical power entrusted to me, I absolve thee from all the sins which, to God and to me thou hast truly confessed, and for which thou hast

done penance. If, as thou art not able personally to take part in this enterprise, thou wilt act according to my direction and that of the other commissioners, in furnishing means and helps for this cause, and if thou hast done all according to thy ability, I bestow on thee the most perfect forgiveness of all thy sins, both from the guilt and the punishment of them, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." Having first, not without reason, remarked that the words "as thou art not able," might probably contain a falsehood, Huss dwells more particularly on the blasphemous style in which absolution is declared. It was one and the same thing, he said, to bestow the forgiveness of all sins, and to impart the Holy Ghost. Both presupposed divine power. And for a sinful man to pretend to impart the Holy Ghost, was too enormous a presumption; for Christ alone, on whom the heavenly dove descended as a symbol of the Holy Ghost, could bestow the baptism of the Spirit. God grants the pardon of sin to none but those whom he had first rendered fit to receive it. Since, then, a Christian can render another person fit no otherwise than by labouring for it by prayer or preaching, or by contributing to it through his own merits,* it was evident that the being rendered fit for it by God, must precede forgiveness. He then takes notice of a subterfuge: it might be said it was but a conditioned indulgence, given to the truly contrite, and therefore to the elect. This was sophistical. In this case there would be no need of indulgences. So, it might be said of any one that, on the supposition he was of the divine essence, he would be very God. He then takes notice of the sophistical pretence, that the pope's real object was neither more nor less than this, to rule the church of Christ in peace and tranquillity; but to secure this object, he must resist his adversaries. The pope could not deceive God. God knew perfectly on what the pope's heart was intent, his ruling aim *implicite* or *explicite*. And if he who should imitate the poverty of Christ, fought for worldly rule, he committed a grievous sin, of which every man was an abettor who upheld him in so doing. He thinks that if the pope really possessed a plenitude of power to bestow indulgence on all, Christian

* Orando, prædicando, merendo.

charity required no less of him than that he should show this kindness to all alike. Huss portrays the injurious effects produced by these indulgences. "The foolish man of wealth is betrayed into a false hope; the law of God is set at nought; the rude people give themselves up more freely to sin; grievous sins are thought lightly of; and, in general, the people are robbed of their property. Far be it, therefore, from the faithful to have anything to do with such indulgences." With regard to those expressions which referred to the common fund of all the good works in the church, to be distributed by the pope, Huss remarks: "Individuals share in this common fund only in proportion as they are qualified to share in it by their charity; but it is not in the power of the pope; it belongs to God alone to determine the greater or less degree of charity in individuals; for to do this presupposes infinite power; it depends on the good pleasure of God. Therefore it is not in the power of the pope to give any one a share in intercessions by the community of holy church; and consequently it was absurd for him to attribute any such power to himself, since the pope himself should, with David, humbly say, 'Make me, O God, a companion of all them that fear thee, and of them that keep thy precepts.' In place of such an imparting of spiritual fellowship with all the good in the church, Huss would rather substitute this: Let the Christian live a righteous life, following Christ his head in all virtue, and especially in humility and patience; and then let him rely on partaking of his merits, so far as God may grant it, and assuredly if he thus perseveres unto the end, he will attain to the most complete forgiveness of his sins; and as his life grows conformed to the example of Christ, in the same proportion will he share of his mercy and of the glory of the blessed." He says that, from the proclamations of the commissioners for granting indulgences, it was evident that their sole object was to extort money from the people. Not an instance was to be found in Scripture of a holy man saying to any one, I have forgiven thee thy sins; I absolve thee. Nor were any to be found who had absolved from punishment or guilt for a certain number of days. The theological faculty, who said that, hundreds of years ago, the holy

fathers instituted indulgences, had taken good care not to express themselves more definitely, and to say, a thousand years, two or three hundred, or any other particular number of centuries ago. Nor had they ventured to name any of these holy fathers. He will not allow that the sentence of the pope is an ultimate and definitive one; Christ is the highest expounder of his own law, as well as by his words as by his deeds; and he is ever with his faithful, according to his promise that he would be with them even unto the end of the world. He then points to examples of uneducated and ignorant popes, not omitting to notice the fabulous pope Joan. He disputes the position, that when the great mass of the clergy, monks, and laity have approved of the papal bulls, it would be foolish to contradict so large a majority. By the same sort of reasoning, anything might be justified, however wicked and vile, provided only that it was approved by the majority; and anything condemned, however true and good, if sanctioned only by a minority. He quotes, in illustration, Jer. viii. 10; according to the principle above stated, it was folly in the prophet to contradict so vast a multitude. "Therefore," says he, "it is the custom of wise men, whenever difficulties occur with regard to any truth, laying it open for discussion, to consider, first of all, what the faith of holy Scripture teaches on the point in question; and whatever can be so determined, that they hold fast as a matter of faith. But if holy Scripture decides neither on one side nor the other, they let the subject alone, as one which does not concern them, and cease to dispute whether the truth lies on this side or that." In resisting the authority of the pope, Huss was accused of having resisted the ordinance of God, according to Rom. xiii. To this he replies: The charge is true, if by the authority of the pope is meant his authority as ordained of God; but it is false so far as it relates to the pretended and arrogated authority of the pope.*

* The abbot of Dola, who accuses Huss also as a contemner of indulgences, scruples not to signalise these indulgences, which, in the period of which we are writing, were the occasion of so much mischief, as *Romanæ sedis consuetas et salutare indulgentias*, and he ascribes the force supposed to reside in them to the merit of Christ's passion. *Dialog. Volatilis, Pez, Thesaur. IV. 2, p. 474.*

After Huss had thus attacked the papal bulls with arguments calculated to impress every thinking mind that lay open to the truth, his friend Jerome came forward and delivered a glowing discourse, which kindled the greatest enthusiasm in the hearts of the youth. In the evening he was escorted home, in triumph, by large bodies of the students.* The excitement produced by the transactions of this day spread further; and, as it usually happens when the impulse has been given to some great movement, however pure and unobjectionable at the outset, that it no longer stands in the power of those who began it to control and keep it within bounds, but violent passions soon enter in, and with their fierce burnings vitiate the purity of the beginning, so it turned out on the present occasion. Jerome of Prague wanted the prudence and moderation of Huss. A mock procession was got up: the papal bulls, suspended from the necks of certain indecent women, were carried, in the midst of a vast concourse of people, through the principal quarters of the city. The chariot conveying the women was surrounded by armed men of the party, vociferating, "To the stake with the letters of a heretic and rogue!" In this way the bulls were finally conveyed to the Pranger, where a pile of faggots had been erected, upon which they were laid and burned. It was intended as a parody on the burning of Wickliff's books two years before.† That every

* At the second hearing of Jerome of Prague at Constance, the subject was also brought up of his attack at this time on indulgences. Being asked what he held concerning indulgences, he declared: The indulgences of the pope and cardinals were legal, and such could be bestowed—wherein it was still left doubtful what notion he framed to himself of indulgences, and to what extent he would allow them—but a purchased indulgence, an indulgence made a matter of barter and sale by sellers of indulgences, *quæstuarii*, was no indulgence at all, but an abuse of indulgences. V. d. Hardt, IV. 2, pp. 752 et 753.

† We join what we find stated in the articles of complaint against Jerome of Prague, in Constance (V. d. Hardt, IV. 2, p. 672), with Palatzy's representation, who appeals to the manuscript report of a student, who had himself borne a part in the procession, (Palatzy, III. 1, p. 278). At the council of Constance (where, however, the year 1411 is erroneously put down by V. d. Hardt, as it must have been the year 1412) Jerome of Prague is designated as the getter up of this whole thing. But Palatzy proves from the manuscript articles of complaint laid before the council of Constance against king Wenceslaus (III. 1,

foolish proceeding ought not to be laid to the charge of Huss, which the passionate leader of his adherents undertook, that he was far from approving of all that these persons either did or said, is evident from his own words in many of his letters, plainly intimating his dissatisfaction with many who professed to be of his party, but whose life did not correspond with the doctrines they supported, and his disapprobation of the violent language employed by many of his adherents. Thus in reply to Paletz, who had accused him of apostasy from the whole faith of Christendom, he says: "Verily, if I allowed this to be true of myself and of my Christian brethren, I should be as false as he is; for I hope, by the grace of God, that I am a Christian, departing in no respect from the faith, and that I should prefer to suffer a horrible death rather than to affirm anything contrary to the faith or to transgress the commandments of our Lord Jesus Christ. And the same I hope also of many of my adherents, though I observe with deep pain that some of them are blameworthy in their morals."* He also says, in this tract against Paletz, with regard to the abusive language which he used towards his adversaries, whom he styled heretics, "Hitherto, I have used no such language as this against my adversaries; and I should be sorry if any one of my party should brand his opponent as a heretic, or style him a Mohammedan, or ridicule or attack him in any other way that implied a disregard to the law of love."† Alluding to the same person, he says in another place: "He holds us all to be Wickliffites, and all therefore to be, in his opinion, reprobates; but I hope there is much which is good on both sides, and believe that there are sinners also on both sides; and it never was, nor will it ever be, agreeable to me, to hear any should style the party opposed to

p. 277 note) that not Jerome of Prague, but Woksa, of Waldstein, one of Wenzel's favourites, was the author of this buffoonery, though Jerome may not have been averse to it. Hence it is evident, that Jerome said nothing untrue, when on his second hearing at Constance he asserted, that he did not burn the bull, (V. d. Hardt, IV. 2, p. 753).

* *Quamvis dolenter percipio aliquos in more deviare. Resp. ad Scr. Paletz, Opp. I. fol. 260, 1.*

† *Et doleo, cum aliquis de parte nostra aliquem hæreticat vel appellat Mahometistam, vel aliter infamat aut impugnat caritatis regula prætermissa. Ibid. fol. 262, 2.*

them Mohammedans or seducers."* Great self-control and prudence were assuredly required to enable a man standing at the head of his party, in a time of such violent excitement, to judge so dispassionately of his opponents, including some who were once his friends, but who now indulged the most violent animosity towards him, and to pass so severe a criticism on the conduct of his own party. We cannot fail to recognise here the spirit of Him who knew how to distinguish blasphemers against the Son of man from blasphemers against the Holy Ghost. And this is one trait which distinguishes Huss from Wickliff.

The co-political ecclesiastical motives which governed king Wenceslaus did not leave him at liberty to contemplate these movements any longer without disquietude, though it was already too late to think of putting a stop to them by a single enactment. As the king had approved the papal bull, had ordered it to be proclaimed, and permitted the preaching of indulgences; as he wished to maintain a good understanding with pope John, he must look about for the means of asserting and carrying out what he had begun. He summoned around him the lords of counsel and the elders of the communities of all the three towns, out of which the great capital had arisen, and directed them to forbid for the future all public insult of the pope, as well as all public resistance of the papal bulls, on pain of death, and to be vigilantly careful that all occasions of excitement on both sides should be avoided. This royal edict was proclaimed by a herald through the whole city as a warning to all.† It is probable, however, that the king after all was not so very solicitous that these measures should be rigorously executed in their whole extent; nor is it clear that he had power enough to enforce them. The getter up of the mock procession against the bull of which we have

* Ego autem ex utraque parte spero esse multos bonos, et ex utraque etiam parte æstimo esse peccatores, nec unquam mihi placuit, imo nec placebit, quod quidam vocant doctoris partem Mahometistas vel seductores. Resp. ad Scr. &c. fol. 264, 1.

† Palatzy, III. 1, p. 278, and Steph. Dolanus in his Antihussus: Dum enim Wenceslaus regio suæ potestatis imperio constituisset etiam voce præconis per civitatem Pragensem decreto publico, ut nequaquam aliquis audeat rebellare et contradicere occulte vel publice sub capitali pœna indulgentiis papalibus cæt. Pez, IV. 2, p. 380.

just spoken still retained his relations with the king.* Huss could not be prevented by any power on earth from fulfilling his vocation as a preacher of the gospel, and from saying to his congregation whatever his duty as a preacher and curer of souls made it incumbent on him to say. He could not keep silent concerning the errors connected with the subject of indulgences; he must point out the great peril to which a reliance on indulgences, as he had already demonstrated in his public disputation, exposed the souls of the people. And yet queen Sophia did not cease her attendance at the chapel of Huss; and this new contest could only serve to increase the number of his hearers and their enthusiasm. The large concourse of noblemen, knights, men and women of all ranks and conditions, who assembled around Huss, is described by his opponents; especially the thousands of pious women who were denominated Beguines—a nickname like the term Pietists in later times; and one which had been applied already to the followers of Militz.† Now, when the hearts of the laity, of men who belonged to the class of industrious artisans, among whom Huss had many adherents, were seized by the power of truth in his sermons, and then going into the churches heard the sellers of indulgences preaching up with shameless effrontery the value of their spiritual merchandise, in direct outrage to the gospel truth they had listened to in Bethlehem Chapel, nothing else was to be expected, especially in a state of so much excitement among the youth, than that violent scenes should ensue.

* Palacky, III. 1, p. 278.

† See above, p. 262. The words of the abbot of Dola in *Antihussus*: *Nobilibus, militaribus, plebeis, mulieribus, tuorum tibi conceptuum cumulum multiplicas*. Pez, IV. 2, p. 390. The Beguines are mentioned, as followers of Huss, in *Antihussus*, Pez, IV. 2, p. 381, and in *Dial. Volat. ibid.* p. 492. In the trial at Prague we learn that over three thousand persons met around Huss in the Bethlehem Chapel. *Vid. Depos. Test. in the Stud. u. Krit.* 1836, I. p. 147. It was thrown out as a reproach against Huss, that he had no congregation of his own, but drew hearers to him from other parishes, and away from other parish priests. But to this he replied: No man was bound to listen to God's word nowhere else except in his own parish church; for else no monk could ever preach, and no parish priest or parish vicar could allow persons belonging to other parishes to hear the word of God in his own church. *Ibid.* p. 146.

A number of priests, distributed among the several parish churches, were engaged, on the 10th of July, in publishing the papal bulls and inviting the people to purchase indulgences. On this occasion three young men belonging to the class of common artisans, by the name of John, Martin, and Stasek, stepping forward, cried out to one of these preachers, "Thou liest! Master Huss has taught us better than that. We know it is all false." After a while they were seized, conducted to the council-house, and, on the next day, in pursuance of the royal edict,* condemned to death. Huss, on being informed of this, felt it to be his duty to interpose and endeavour to save these young men, doomed to fall victims to the gospel truth which they had heard from his lips, and which burned in their hearts. Accompanied by two thousand students he repaired to the council-house. He demanded a hearing for himself and some of his attendants. At length he was permitted to appear before the senate. He declared that he looked upon the fault of those young men as his own, and that he, therefore, much more than they deserved to die. They promised him that no blood should be shed, and bade him tranquillise the excited feelings of the others. Hoping that they would keep their word, he left the council-house together with his followers.† But some hours afterwards, when the multitude had, for the most part, dispersed, they ventured to proceed

* It is noticeable that when Dr. Nas of Prague had testified against Huss at his trial in Constance, that he himself was present *cum rex mandasset, blasphemos ultimo supplicio affici*, Huss directly declared this to be false. Yet, after what has been said, it cannot be doubted, that the king did issue such an edict against the disputers of indulgences. There was something then, we know not what, perhaps, in the form of that testimony, which led Huss to express himself in this way. Third hearing of Huss in Constance, V. d. Hardt, IV. 2, p. 327.

† The abbot of Dola relates the transaction as follows: *Facto siquidem prædictorum rebellium justo animadversionis excidio, accessisti vel misisti pluribus vallatus sociis ad maturum et discretum magnæ civilis prudentiæ Pragensium consulum concilium, et prædicatione pompatica ausus es clamosa voce, non solum ipsorum debitam executionem, sed et regiam et in hoc omnino sanctam maturi decreti jussionem, non solum reprehendere, sed et damnare. In quo utique crimen læsæ majestatis perpetrasti, asserente te et dicente: Injuste illi damnati sunt; ego feci et ego feram. Ecce ego et omnes qui mecum sunt, parati sumus eandem excipere sententiam.* Steph. Dol. in *Antihussus*, Pez, IV. 2, pp. 380 et 381.

to the execution of the sentence. Resistance being apprehended from the Hussite party, the prisoners were conducted under a large escort of soldiers to the place of death, and as, in the mean time, the concourse of spectators running together in the highest state of excitement, increased every moment, they hurried the execution, and finished it even before arriving at the destined spot. But the adherents of Huss had no intention of resorting to violence. When the headsman, after his work was done, cried out, "Let him who does the like expect to suffer the same fate," many among the multitude exclaimed at once: "We are all ready to do the like and to suffer the same." This execution could have no other effect than to increase the excitement of feeling and the enthusiasm of the people for the cause of Huss. Those three young men would of course be regarded by the party they belonged to, as martyrs for the truth. It would be impossible to devise anything better calculated to promote any cause, bad or good, than to give it martyrs. Several, and in particular the so-called Beguines of this party, of whom we have spoken above, dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood of the victims, and treasured them up as precious relics.* A woman who witnessed the execution offered white linen to enshroud the dead bodies; and another individual who was present, Master von Jitzin, attached to the party of Huss, hastened with a company of students to convey the bodies to Bethlehem Chapel. Borne thither as saints with chanted hymns and loud songs, they were buried amid great solemnities, under the direction of Huss. This event gave new importance to Bethlehem Chapel in the eyes of the party of Huss. They named it the Chapel of the Three Saints.† It is certain that Huss took a lively interest in the death of these young men. He thought they might justly be called martyrs for Christian truth, like others whose memory is preserved in the history of the church. Nor was there anything in this which could justly subject him to the slightest reproach. Certainly by

* Words of the abbot of Dola: *Ut illorum sanguinem linteis, maxime beginæ tuæ et quidam alii, extegerent.* Steph. Dol. &c. p. 381.

† *Ita ut te largiente et te donante locus ille tuæ cathedræ summus non jam Bethlehem, sed ad tres sanctos per te et tuos complices vocaretur.* Ibid.

his sermons he contributed to nourish the enthusiasm with which the memory of these witnesses for the truth was cherished among the people. But as public rumour, in such times of commotion, is not wont to discriminate between the different agents, and the different shares taken by each in a transaction, but is inclined to lay the whole upon the shoulders of the one who happens to be the most important individual, so Huss soon came to be pointed out as the person who headed the procession at the burial of the three young men. This is reported by the abbot of Dola.* Accordingly the blame of the whole affair is thrown upon Huss at the council of Constance; but he could deny, with truth, that the procession had been got up at his instigation.† It is indeed possible, though the statement of so violent an opponent as the abbot of Dola cannot be received as altogether trustworthy, that it was remarked by Huss or some one of his followers: If that Wenceslaus, whom his brother, Boleslav, the cruel, caused to be executed, deserved to be called a martyr, much more were those three young witnesses to evangelical truth entitled to be honoured as martyrs; or that Huss, following the precedent of Matthias of Janow, spoke disapprovingly of the superstition and quackery with which the traffic in relics, whether genuine or counterfeit, was carried on; or that, one of his adherents had said, the bones of these three, who ought certainly to be revered as witnesses for the truth, must

* *Accessisti siquidem et jacentia rebellium corpora sub mediastino sustulisti: et cum ea, quæ tibi videbatur, summa reverentia ad cathedram tuæ superbiam, capellam dictam Bethlehem detulisti; te ipso et scholaribus tuæ societatis, sanctæ, obedientiam contrariis, clamoris et altissimis vocibus usque ad inferni novissima concrepantibus: Isti sunt sancti, et hujusmodi plurima. Ibid.* This serves to confirm the account given above of the solemnities observed in conveying the bodies of those three young men to Bethlehem Chapel, except that the abbot makes no distinction of persons, and charges Huss *alone* with the whole affair.

† At the council of Constance this also was introduced among the articles of complaint against Huss, regarding the burial of the three young men: *Eos per eundem Hus cum pompa scholasticorum elatos et publica concione in sanctorum numerum relatos esse.* But Huss declares this to be false, as he was not present when the affair occurred: *Falsum est, cadavera a me ad sepulturam cum aliqua pompa delata esse, cum ego ne adfuerim quidem.* V. d. Hardt, IV. 2, p. 327.

be more precious to the memory of the pious than those relics that were held to be present at one and the same time in several places.* But we may hear what Huss himself says concerning these witnesses of the truth, as his words are recorded in his book *De Ecclesia*, written at a somewhat later period. After citing the passage in Dan. xi. 33, he remarks: "Experience gives us the right interpretation of these words,—since persons made learned by the grace of God, simple laymen and priests, many taught by the example of a good life, because they openly resisted the lying word of Antichrist, have fallen under the edge of the sword; of which we have an example in those three laymen, John, Martin, and Stasek, who, because they contradicted the lying disciples of Antichrist, fell victims to the sword." Then, in allusion to what afterwards transpired in consequence of these commotions, he adds: "But others who gave up their lives for the truth, died the death of martyrs, or were imprisoned, and still have not denied the truth of Christ, priests, and laymen, and even women."†

The first blood having been shed, the persecuting party thought it inexpedient to venture immediately upon anything further. They perceived the danger of attempting to put a stop to these commotions by force. They had learned by experience to what a height the enthusiasm of the people had already mounted by the death of those three young men. Accordingly the other prisoners, who were now looking for nothing but martyrdom, were set at large. The conflict between the two parties, which had divided the university, since the dispute about the papal bulls relating to indulgence and a crusade, still went on, and grew more violent; the smaller party, consisting of those who now declared themselves opposed to all Wickliffite doctrines and in favour of the whole system of papal absolutism, and

* They are the words of the abbot of Dola: *Venerationem sanctorum ossium juxta ritum ecclesiæ sanctæ cum tuis reprobas dicens, quod S. Wenceslaus modico martyrio, id est fratricidio regnum promeruit martyrii: et hic cum aliis sanctis, quos sacerdotes et monachi predicant, habent unius multa capita, multa brachia et diversa ossa, quæ utique non sanctorum, sed vilium cadaverum esse potius reputantur.* V. d. Hardt, IV. p. 327.

† *De Ecclesia*, Opp. I. fol. 245, 2.

the larger party of those, who espoused the cause of reform, at the head of whom stood Huss. The former had on their side all who were attached to the hierarchy; and they supposed they could reckon also on the help of king Wenceslaus, whom, in fact, they had joined on defending the bull, and who had issued the edict against its opponents. Those eight doctors, at whose head stood at that time Paletz, as dean, believed they were entitled to represent themselves as constituting the theological faculty. They now united in condemning the forty-five articles of Wickliff, although some of them had before this defended those articles; and, hence, Huss calls them the *Cancerisantes*. They declared to the prelates their agreement with them in the earlier resolutions against those articles; and, by a course which to Huss appeared retrograde, though to the advocates of hierarchy it could appear no otherwise than an advance, gave them the highest satisfaction. They next proceeded to condemn the forty-five articles in a solemn session.* To these propositions they added six others. 1. "That he is a heretic who judges otherwise than the Roman church concerning the sacraments and the spiritual power of the keys," which doubtless refers to the proceedings of Huss against indulgences. 2. "That in *these* days, to suppose that great Antichrist is present and rules, who, according to the faith of the church, and according to holy Scripture, and the holy teachers, shall appear at the end of the world, is shown by experience to be a manifest error." This refers to the doctrine concerning Antichrist, which, as we have seen, proceeded first from Militz, had been further unfolded by Matthias of Janow, and so passed over to Huss. 3. "To say that the ordinances of the holy fathers, and the praiseworthy customs in the church, are not to be observed, because they are not contained in holy Scripture, is an error." This is evidently directed against a doctrine of Huss, which we have explained on a former page. 4. "That the relics, the bones

* Huss says of Paletz: *Recepit articulos, qui sunt prælati contrarii et ecurrunt ad eos, qui gavisii sunt videntes ipsum et Stanislaum cancerisantes. Unde invito consilio pactum fecerunt invicem, ut articulos in prætorio condemnarent. Resp. ad Scr. Paletz, Opp. I. fol. 259, 2.* This is the condemnation in prætorio to which Huss in his writings subsequent to this time in defence of these articles often alludes.

of the saints, the clothes and robes of the faithful are not to be revered, is an error. 5. "That priests cannot absolve from sins and forgive sins, when, as ministers of the church, they bestow and apply the sacrament of penance, but that they only announce that the penitent is absolved, is an error." This also plainly enough refers to the doctrine set forth by Huss in the controversy about indulgences. 6. "That the pope may not, where it becomes necessary, call upon the faithful or demand contributions of them for the defence of the Apostolical See, of the Roman church and city, and for the coercion and subjection of opponents and enemies among Christians, while he bestows on the faithful who loyally come to the rescue, show true penitence, have confessed and are mortified, the full forgiveness of all sins, is an error."* Huss represents it as a piece of arrogance in those eight doctors to think themselves entitled to act in the name of the entire faculty, and to put forth their condemnation as a condemnation by the whole faculty.† Now, as this party could not reckon, as appears evident from what has been said, on the concurrence of the whole university, and therefore could not take any open step in common, they, as the theological faculty, applied to the magistracy of Prague, and petitioned them to obtain the king's consent, that the teaching and spreading abroad of those articles should be forbidden by a royal edict. This theological faculty had, moreover, declared that certain preachers, on whose account violent insurrections, strifes, and divisions had sprung up among the people, ought to be silenced. And they stated, as their last reason, that this was the way to restore peace among the people.‡ A

* We cite the unprinted articles from the Latin original published by Palacky. Palacky, III. 1, p. 282.

† He protests against their arrogance in calling themselves the *alma et venerabilis facultas theologica*, and prefers to designate them as the *octo doctores*, remarking in his tract against Stanislaus: *Est autem illa facultas theologica, que aciem contra nos dirigit, magistrorum theologiæ octonarius. Resp. ad Scr. Stanisl. a Znoyma, Opp. I. fol. 265, 1.*

‡ *Quod certi prædicatores, propter quos, ut timetur, insultus et discordiæ et dissensiones sunt exortæ in populo, cessent a prædicatione. Et adducunt in fine pro causa: Et speratur, quod per hoc fiet pax in populo et insultus conquiescent. Resp. ad Scr. Stanislai, Opp. I. fol. 266, 2.*

cunningly-devised means, to be sure, for putting an end to all strife, to allow only one party to speak, and enjoin absolute silence on the other. Such an edict was now to be procured from the king.* The king granted but a part of the demand. He actually issued an edict, forbidding the preaching of those doctrines on penalty of banishment from the land; at the same time, however, he caused the faculty to be told, that they had better employ themselves in refuting those doctrines, than in trying to effect the suppression of them by an edict of prohibition. But an edict of prohibition against the preaching of this or that individual, was a thing he would never consent to. As the faculty could not fail to see the reproach implied in this language of the king, they sought to justify what they had done, affirming, that for them to refute those doctrines was impossible, as long as Huss refused to lay before them in a written form, as they had requested him to do, what he had to object against the two bulls.† When Huss was now summoned to appear with his opponents before the king's privy council, in Zebrak, he first appealed to the words of Christ before the high priest, (John xviii. 20,) and applying them to his case, remarked: "I have spoken openly, and taught in the schools, and in the temple in Bethlehem, where masters, bachelors, students, and multitudes of the common people congregate, and nothing have I spoken in secret, by which I could be seeking to draw men away from the truth." At the same time he declared that he was ready to comply with the demand of those doctors, provided that, as he bound himself to suffer at the stake, in case he could be convicted of holding any erroneous doctrine, the eight

* Huss remarks concerning this design of the faculty: "Behold a design of these doctors similar to that of those priests and Pharisees; and both cases resulted in the same way. For neither did the former nor the latter secure the peace which they sought, but were in more trouble than before. And, rightly; for the Truth did not come to bring peace upon the earth but a sword: and never ought we to be frightened away from the truth by fear of reproach from the world or from the doctors." *Resp. ad Ser. Stanislai, Opp. I. fol. 266, 2.*

† *Quod non stat per magistros theologiæ, quod nihil scribitur et non est scriptum contra dicta M. Joannis Hus de bullis papæ, quia sæpius requisitus, dictorum suorum non dedit copiam, nec hucusque dare voluit magistris supradictis.*—So the words run in a manuscript copy cited by Palacky, III. 1, p. 281.

doctors would also *on their part* collectively bind themselves to suffer in the same way on the same condition. They requested time for deliberation and withdrew; then they came forward and said, that one of them would bind himself by this pledge for all. To this, however, Huss would not consent, but declared, as they were all combined together against him, and he stood opposed to them without associates, this would not be fair.* Finding that the two parties would never be able to agree in settling the preliminary arrangements, the privy council dissolved the meeting, having first admonished both that they should try to make up the matter between themselves†—an admonition which, in their present state of exasperated feeling, would pass unheeded, and which was intended, perhaps, simply to intimate that the council would have nothing more to do with the business.

The consequences which had followed in the train of the dispute about indulgences, could easily be taken advantage of to represent Huss, in Rome, as a dangerous man, hostile to the papacy. His enemies at home found a worthy instrument to play their first cards at the Roman court, in Michael of Deutschbrod, formerly a parish priest, commonly known as Michael de Causis, parochial priest to St. Adalbert's church in the new city in Prague. This man, more interested about reforms in mining than reforms in the church, had left his charge and entered the service of the king to carry out a project for the improvement of mining by some new method of exploring veins of gold. The king, induced by certain representations he had laid before him, gave him a sum of money to be expended on this object. But failing to accomplish what he had promised about improvements in mining, he absconded with a part of the money, getting still more from the enemies of Huss, to assist them in carrying out their designs against the latter by bribery—an all-powerful agent with the creatures of that monster pope John, though hardly needed to secure the ruin of a man who had shown him self so hostile as Huss had done to the Roman papacy. Before the pope was yet informed of all that had transpired

* Refut. Scripti Octo Doct., Opp. I. fol. 292, 2.

† Concordetis pulchre invicem. Ibid.

in Prague, he had taken the case of Huss out of the hands of cardinal Brancas, to whom it had last been committed, and given it over to another cardinal, Peter de St. Angelo, charging him to employ the severest measures against the recusant. Upon this, the procurators of Huss appealed to a future general council, and were immediately placed under arrest. The friend of Huss, Master Jesenic, made his escape and got back to Prague. The cardinal now pronounced sentence of excommunication on Huss in the most terrible formulas. If he persisted twenty days in his disobedience to the pope, the ban was to be proclaimed against him in all the churches, on Sundays and festival days, with the ringing of all the bells and the extinguishing of all the tapers, and the same punishment should be extended to all who kept company with him. The interdict should be laid on every place that harboured him. By a second ordinance of the pope, the people of Prague were called upon to seize the person of Huss, and deliver him up to the archbishop of Prague, or to the bishop of Leitomyzl, or to condemn and burn him according to the laws. Bethlehem Chapel was to be destroyed from its foundation, that the heretics might no longer nestle there.* King Wenceslaus offered no resistance to the proclamation of these papal ordinances; at the same time he did nothing to promote their execution. The party opposed to Huss would have been eager, therefore, to carry the whole into effect, had they been powerful enough to do so. With the concurrence of the senators in the old city of Prague, the majority of whom were still Germans and therefore opponents of Huss, many citizens, who were also Germans, assembled at the consecration festival of the church of Prague, Oct. 2, under Bernhard Chotek, a Bohemian, as their leader, for the purpose of dispersing the congregation in Bethlehem Chapel and getting possession of the person of Huss. But the firm resolution with which they were met by the congregation who gathered around Huss, induced them to abandon their plan. They returned back to the senate-house, where it was resolved at least to carry into execution the pope's command to destroy Bethlehem

* See the Chron. Univ. Prag., cited from the manuscript in Palacky, III. 1. p. 286.

Chapel. But when this resolution came to be known, such violent commotions arose, that it was found necessary to abandon this project also. The party of Huss did not allow itself to be intimidated by the pope's bull of excommunication. His procurator, Master Jesenic, to whom the pope's bull was extended, published on the 18th of December of this year, at the university of Prague, an argument which is still preserved, in which he undertook to demonstrate the invalidity of everything that had been done in the process against Huss. Huss himself could not, consistently with his own principles as they have been explained, attribute any significance to an unjust excommunication. He caused to be engraved on the walls of Bethlehem Chapel a few words, showing the invalidity of such an excommunication, to which he several times refers; and finally, when no other earthly remedy was left him, he appealed from the venality of the court of Rome to the one incorruptible, just, and infallible judge, Jesus Christ. Already, in his tract against Stephen Paletz, he expresses himself on this subject in the following language. After describing what pains he had taken to obtain justice at the Roman chancery, he says: "But the Roman court, which cares not for the sheep without the wool, would never cease asking for money, therefore have I finally appealed from it to the most just Judge and High Priest over all."* This appeal he published to his congregation from the pulpit of Bethlehem Chapel. It is characteristic of the times that this act should also be objected to him as a contemptuous trifling with the jurisdiction of the church, as an insolent act of disobedience to the pope, and an over-leaping of the regular order of ecclesiastical tribunals. The abbot of Dola says, in his invective against Huss: "Tell me, then, who accepted your appeal? From whom did you obtain a release from the jurisdiction of the subordinate authorities? You would not say from the laity, and your daughters the Beguins."† The parish priests of Prague, however, paid no regard to all this, but only

* Opp. I. fol. 256, 1.

† Dic ergo quæso, quis detulit tuæ appellationi? a quo petiisti dimissorias literas sive apostolos? Nonne a laïcis et filiabus tuis Beguinis? Dial. Volat. Pez, IV. 2, p. 492.

obeyed the pope; a course, too, which perfectly fell in with their own passions and interests. From all the pulpits they published the ban against Huss; they strictly observed the interdict; no sacraments were administered; no ecclesiastical burial was permitted. Such a state of things would, as ever, provoke the most violent disturbances among the people. The king himself, therefore, was urgent with Huss that, to preserve peace, he should leave Prague for a time. Archbishop Albic did not feel able to sustain the conflicts at Prague; nor did such kind of activity suit his love of repose. At the close of the year 1412 he laid down his office, and Conrad of Vechta, bishop of Olmutz, a Westphalian, a zealous advocate of the hierarchy, and more inclined to severe measures in support of it than his predecessor, obtained, first under the name of *ministrator*, the administration of the archbishopric of Prague, till finally, after long-protracted negotiations with the Roman court, he became, in July, 1413, archbishop in the full sense.

By the removal of Huss from Prague, quiet was by no means restored in Bohemia. His principles still continued to operate among his important party at Prague. There was a sharp opposition between the two parties, the Hussites and the church party. King Wenzel thought it wrong to allow the matter, which continually grew more serious, and involved in its train important political consequences, to go on thus any longer. The college of the ancient nobles of the land had already assembled before the Christmas of 1412, for the purpose of advising about the restoration of peace and the rescue of the good name of the Bohemian people in foreign lands. The assembling of a national synod for this purpose, before which the leaders of the two parties should appear, was resolved upon. At first the little city Bohmisch-Brod, which belonged to the archbishop of Prague, was selected for the place of meeting, since it was thought that the appearance of Huss in this small city, notwithstanding the ban under which he lay and the interdict on his place of residence, would create little or no disturbance. Here the proposals of the two parties were to be investigated. On the one side were the Prague theological faculty of the eight doctors, at

whose head were Stephen of Paletz and Stanislaus of Znaim, with archbishop John the Iron of Leitomyśl; on the other side, John Huss. But in the memorials drawn up by the two parties, nothing appeared but the most diametrical opposition of principles. The theological faculty traced all the schism to the defending of the forty-five erroneous doctrines of Wickliff, and insisted that the condemnation of them should be rigorously observed, and that the decision of the church of Rome should be submitted to in every point. The church in their view was the pope as head, and the college of cardinals as the body. Errors they found, especially in the widely-spread doctrines about the power of the keys being vested in the church; errors concerning the hierarchy; concerning the seven sacraments; concerning the veneration of relics; and concerning indulgence. They traced all these errors to one cause, that the party admitted no other authority than the sacred Scriptures, explained in their own sense and in contrariety with the doctrine of the church and of entire Christendom. They regarded themselves, on the other hand, as the people, who alone were in possession of the truth, inasmuch as they agreed with the doctrine of the Roman church and of entire Christendom. They required in all matters in themselves indifferent, among which were to be reckoned the late ordinances of the pope and the process against Huss, unconditional submission to the Roman church. The disobedience of Huss and his party to the commands of their superiors passed, with them, for the greatest crime. The interdict should be strictly observed; the order forbidding Huss to preach should remain in full force. They maintained that, since the proceedings against Huss had been accepted by the collective body of the clergy of Prague, and *they* had submitted to them, therefore all should do the same, especially as they related only to things in themselves indifferent, forbade nothing *good*, and commanded nothing *wrong*; and it was not the business of the clergy of Prague to judge whether the ban pronounced on John Huss was a just or an unjust one. Severe punishment for publicly holding forth any of those things which they from their particular point of view called heresy, was required by them. Their

proposals for peace, therefore, looked to nothing else than a total suppression of the other party and the triumph of their own. Huss, on the other hand, began by laying down the principle, that the sacred Scriptures alone should pass as a final authority; no obedience could be required to that which was at variance with their teaching. He said, in answer to the challenge of obedience to the interdict and ban: "It were the same as to argue that, because the judgment pronouncing Christ a traitor, an evil-doer, and worthy of death, was approved by the collective body of the priests in Jerusalem, therefore that judgment must be acquiesced in."* Looking at the matter from this point of view, he was conscious of no heresy himself, nor could he see any ground for asserting that heresies existed in Bohemia. He demanded, therefore, that they should return back to the earlier compact concluded under archbishop Zbynek. He declared that he was ready to clear himself from the charge of heresy against any man, or else suffer at the stake, provided his accusers would also bind themselves under the same conditions. Every man who took it upon himself to accuse another of heresy, should be required to come forward and take this pledge. But if none could be found that were able to do so, then it should be proclaimed anew that heresy did not exist in Bohemia. The hierarchical party would naturally look upon all this as a mere shift to avoid the necessity of submitting to the church, and of giving up the defence of heresy. Archbishop John the Iron, of Leitomyse, approved the propositions of the other party, and declared strongly against those of the party of Huss. He advised that all writings in the vulgar language of Bohemia, relating to religious subjects, writings that had contributed in a special manner to the spread of heresy, should be condemned, and the reading of them forbidden.† Where there was such contrariety in principles, as we here see manifested, it is evident that all attempts at compromise would necessarily prove idle, or only terminate in making the breach still wider. These transactions afforded Huss a good oppor-

* Opp. I. fol. 247, 2.

† See the documents in Cochläus, p. 29, seq., and Palacky, III. 1, p. 289 ff.

tunity for more fully expounding and defending, in the tracts which he wrote in confutation of the propositions above stated, of the arrogant pretensions clearly avowed therein by the other party, and of the accusations brought against him and his friends, the principles which had guided him in these disputes, and which by occasion of these disputes became more distinctly evolved to his own consciousness. We shall state them more fully in the next section, where we shall recur to them for the purpose of a more distinct exposition of the doctrines and principles of Huss, and of their bearing on the aims and tendencies of the dominant party. The synod above mentioned was not held, as at first intended, at Bohmisch-Brod, but in Prague itself, on the 6th of February, 1413. Huss therefore could not be present. His place was represented by his advocate, Master John of Jesenic. Before this synod were laid the propositions of the two parties. And here it should be mentioned, that one of the most zealous friends of Huss, Master Jacobellus of Mies, submitted a resolution to this effect: that if the matter now in question related to the restoration of peace, it should first be settled *what* peace was meant, whether peace with *the world*, or with *God*; the latter depended on keeping the divine commandments. The origin of the strife was this: that the attempts of some to bring back that peace of God met with such unholy and violent resistance on the part of others. Yet the peace of the world, without Christian and divine peace, would be as unstable as it was worthless. Let the king but give his thoughts to the *latter* first, and the other would follow of itself.* The result of this synod was such as might be expected in a case where the direct contrariety of the propositions offered rendered compromise impossible. It broke up without having accomplished anything. But the king, who looked at nothing but the interests of his government, and therefore desired nothing but a peaceful compromise, tried yet another expedient. He appointed a committee composed of four members: the archbishop Albic, the Wysehrad dean Jacob, the provost of All Saints Master Zdenek of Labaun, and the rector of the university

* Palacky, III. p. 293.

Master Christann of Prachatic.* This committee was empowered to take every measure necessary for the restoration of concord and tranquillity. They carried it so far as to oblige the two parties to bind themselves under the penalty of a pecuniary forfeit and of banishment from the country, to abide by the decision of this committee. But the same reasons which had operated to defeat the purpose of the synod, would operate with equal force against this experiment also. No sooner did they proceed to reduce to form the first proposition, expressing the agreement of the two parties with the faith of the church on the matter of the holy sacraments and the authority of the church, than a dispute arose out of this, namely, that Paletz, who with his friends did not consider themselves as a party standing over against the others, but as defending the cause of the church against a party standing opposed to that cause, thought he could not concede, that he and his were also to be called a *pars*, a mere party. He then directly proceeded to lay down his definition of the church, a definition which the other party would not admit; against which indeed they had always protested, as is evident from the writings of Huss; a definition by admitting which the party of Huss would have surrendered all their principles; namely, that by the church is to be understood the body of cardinals under the pope as their head. Master John of Jesenic, who represented the party of Huss, finally yielded, but with the qualifying clause that he and his party accepted the decisions of the church as every faithful Christian ought to accept and understand them. Now by this clause the definition, chosen with a purpose by the other party, was indeed, of itself, rendered impotent; for under the phrase, "such acceptation as every believing Christian is bound to give," was meant to be understood, by those from whom this clause proceeded, that everything was excluded thereby which might stand at variance with their principle, that the sacred Scriptures are the sole determining rule of faith. The commission, who had no other interest in view than that of securing an agreement, and who were ready to

* Palacky, III. 1, p. 294.

welcome any terms of agreement however ambiguously expressed, would be satisfied with this. But looking upon the thing from their own point of view, the other party could not be blamed when they were led, by the same interest which had induced them to propose their narrow definition of the church, to protest against a clause by which their whole object would be defeated. Stanislaus of Znaim and Stephen Paletz declared that this was only a shift, a pretext, under which to conceal discord and disobedience. And in this, judged according to their own point of view, they were right. For two days they vainly disputed on this point. On the third, Paletz and the other doctors who had protested, wholly absented themselves, accusing the commission of weakness and partiality. King Wenceslaus now looked upon the four members of the theological faculty, who by their protest had hindered the compromise, as the promoters of schism, being unfaithful to the pledge under which they had engaged to submit to the decision of the committee: and he deprived them of their places and banished them from the country. Thus fell the party which regarded itself as exclusively the party of the church. Another defeat awaited it. In the senate of Prague the German element had hitherto had the ascendancy; and it was, in fact, this element chiefly which resisted, in a decided manner, every tendency to reform; and hence those measures adopted by the senate against the cause of Huss, of which we have spoken before. But king Wenzel was now induced so to alter the relation, that out of the two races, Bohemians and Germans, all the nine members should be chosen into the senate by the king. At the same time a German, who had hitherto been a leader among the opponents of Huss, the senator John Oertel was, for some unknown reason, executed. Thus another victory, if it might be called such, was gained by the Hussite party. But the hatred of the hierarchical party in Bohemia towards the Hussites would only be fanned by such events to more violent flame, and its organs subsequently obtained, by the concatenation of greater events in the progress of church development, an opportunity to exercise their revenge. Stanislaus of Znaim died, it is true, soon afterwards; but Paletz had the satisfaction to appear as

the fiercest accuser of Huss at the council of Constance. We now return back to the personal history of Huss.

He had in the mean time retreated to castles belonging to his friends; and, while the seed scattered by him in Prague was producing its fruits, he was enabled to prosecute at greater leisure the defence of his principles by writings. He spent the first part of the time chiefly at the castle, Kozi-hrádek, which belonged to the lords of Austie. Here he wrote the most important of all his works,—the one chiefly appealed to in conducting the process against him which brought him to the stake. This was his book *De Ecclesia*, and the controversial writings therewith connected, tracts directed against the theological faculty in Prague, against Stephen Paletz, and against Stanislaus of Znaim,—writings, of which we have already availed ourselves in tracing the thread of the author's history, in explaining his principles and describing his labours, although in point of chronology they presuppose the work *De Ecclesia*. It is characteristic of Huss, that precisely at this critical juncture, where the contest threatened to be most dangerous, he should unfold in this work *De Ecclesia*, without regard to consequences, those doctrines which would inevitably most contribute to fix upon him the stigma of heresy. Accordingly, cardinal D'Ailly remarked of this work, before the council of Constance, that through an endless multitude of arguments it attacked the papal authority and the plenitude of the papal power, as much as the Koran did the Catholic faith.* Huss in this work traces the origin of the whole dispute to his attacks of the secularized clergy. He distributes the entire body of the clergy into two classes—the *clerus Christi* and the *clerus Antichristi*. "We must regard the clerical body," he says, "as made up of two sects—the clergy of Christ and those of Antichrist. The Christian clergy lean on Christ as their leader, and on his laws. The clergy of Antichrist lean for the most part or wholly on human laws and the laws of Antichrist; and yet pretend to be the clergy of Christ and

* Qui quidem liber per infinita argumenta ita impugnat auctoritatem papalem et ejus plenitudinem potestatis, sicut Alcoranus impugnat catholicam fidem. D'Ailly, *De Necessitate Reformationis*, in Works of Gerson, tom. II. p. 901.

of the church, so as to seduce the people by a more cunning hypocrisy. And two sects which are so directly opposed, must necessarily be governed by two opposite heads with their corresponding laws."* He says: "The priests of Christ preached against the vices of a corrupt clergy. Hence arose the schism, and hence that clergy sought to suppress such preaching." He says: "How can there be anything more senseless than a clergy giving themselves up to the dross of this world, and making a mockery of the life and teaching of Christ? For, so exceedingly corrupt are the clergy already, that they hate those who frequently preach, and frequently mention the Lord Jesus Christ; and, if a man ventures to quote Christ for himself, they say with scorn and bitterness, Art thou Christ? And, after the manner of the Pharisees, they trouble and excommunicate those who acknowledge Christ. It was because I preached Christ and the gospel, and exposed Antichrist, anxious that the clergy should live according to the law of Christ, that the prelates first, with archbishop Zbynek, contrived to get a bull from pope Alexander V., to prohibit preaching in the chapels before the people, from which bull I had appealed: but I was never able to get a hearing. Therefore, on good and reasonable grounds, I did not appear when I was cited. Therefore, by the instrumentality of Michael de Causis, they got me placed under the ban, when a compromise had already been effected; and, finally, they contrived to obtain an interdict, by which they oppress the Christian people for no fault of their own." In accounting for his non-appearance in Rome he explains himself further, as follows: "What reason had I for obedience—a man summoned from a distance of 1200 miles? What reason that I, a man unknown to the pope, informed against by my enemies, should be so very solicitous and put myself to such extraordinary pains, to pass through the midst of my enemies, and place myself before judges and witnesses, who are my enemies, that I should use up the property of the poor to defray the enormous expenses, or if I could not meet the expenses, miserably perish from hunger and thirst? And what was to be gained by my appearance?"

* De Ecclesia, Opp. I. fol. 226, 1.

One consequence certainly would be neglect of the work which God gave me to do, for my own salvation and that of others. There I should be learning, not how to believe, but how to conduct a process, a thing not permitted to a servant of God. There I should be robbed by the consistory of cardinals—made lukewarm in holy living; be betrayed into impatience by oppression; and, if I had nothing to give, must be condemned, let my cause be ever so good; and, what is still worse, I should be compelled to worship the pope on my bended knees." Appealing to the words inscribed on the walls at Bethlehem,* he mentions, as a reason why the pretended ban could not affect him, that his judges and witnesses at Rome were his enemies, and, in particular, that his judge was a party concerned in the cause.† "It is," says he, "a great distance;—everywhere on this journey I should be surrounded by my enemies the Germans.‡ I see no advantage to be gained by my appearance; but the contrary;—I must neglect my people in the word of God. I hope Christ has warned against any such peril, when he says: Lo, I send you as

* Et si non vis credere, disce in Bethlehem in pariete, ibi reperies, quomodo justo non nocet excommunicatio, sed proficit, et quare debet etiam justus timere excommunicationem injustam praelaticam vel Pilaticam. Fol. 249, 2.

† Judicem principaliter tangit causa. Fol. 244, 2.

‡ The naïve manner in which the abbot of Dola labours to refute these arguments, reproaching Huss with cowardice, exhorting him to trust in God and fear nothing, and holding up to him the example of Christ when he appeared before Pilate, is quite characteristic. We will quote a specimen of his fine logic: Ecce cum necdum audieris proelia et seditiones, jam contra Christi exhortationem stolidè terroris. Et ubi sermo sapientiæ: Pro justitia certa usque ad mortem? Et tu dices te intrepidum prædicatorem esse pro veritate exponenda (quæ veritas Christus est), qui etiam, ubi non est timor, times mortem? Numquid commortuus fuit in te sermo dominicus: Nolite timere eos, qui corpus occidunt; animam autem non possunt occidere? Numquid legisti: Quis accusabit adversus electos Dei? Deus, qui justificat; quis est qui condemnet? Ad curiam citatus debuisti potius humiliter parere et cum apostolo dicere: Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? Ecce Deus proprio Filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit didit illum, etiam judicandum impio judici Pilato, numquid tu major es Christo? Christus pro nobis non refugit judicari ab iniquo judice: et tu contemnis, imo condemnas pro expurgandis tuis propriis peccatis judicium summi pontificis, vicarii Jesu Christi? Dial. Volat. Pez, IV. 2, pp. 465 et 466.

sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye, therefore, wise as serpents and harmless as doves, (Matt. x. 16). With regard to the interdict, he speaks of that as an unchristian thing in itself. He traces its origin to the twelfth century, under pope Hadrian IV., who, for some ill-treatment or other of a cardinal, laid an interdict on the place where Arnold of Brescia resided—which, to be sure, is not strictly correct—and he remarks: “Oh, how patient was that pope! but yet not like Christ, and the apostles Peter, Paul, and Andrew.” “Perhaps,” says he afterwards, “that language of the Roman court is founded upon the exhortation: We ought always to pray and not faint, (Luke xviii. 1); or on the words: Praise the Lord, all ye people, (Ps. cxvii. 1). But what would the people say who hold such language, should it happen that John Huss arrives at the city of the heavenly Jerusalem, where cherubim and seraphim cease not daily to cry with one voice: ‘Holy is our God?’ Will these, on account of the papal bull, cease to praise God, so that Christ, the true intercessor with God, must cease to intercede in behalf of the faithful his members?”

Though Huss was very far from harbouring any intention to found a new church, or to renounce the church of that time, yet the principle from which such a renunciation would necessarily follow, was, it must be owned, sharply expressed and clearly unfolded in this book and the controversial tracts which, as we have said, were connected with it. From the direct unmediated reference of the Christian consciousness to the Saviour, such as we find in these works, results already a new and more spiritual conception of the church, another conception of the necessity of the church unity, opposed to the theory of a necessary visible head. Already, we find, in its germ, the distinction of visible and invisible church. In reference to this last, it is only necessary to remark, that Huss, taking his start from the strict Augustinian system—though his predominant practical bent prevents him from using such hard expressions, amounting to a denial of all freedom, as are to be found in Wickliff—must nevertheless define the church, so far as it corresponds to its true idea, as the community of the elect; and though, with Augustin, he gives prominence to the notion of a living faith, yet he

also, with Augustin and the entire western church, apprehended the notion of justification after a wholly subjective manner; and hence by him, too, it was argued, that no man could without a special revelation, have any certainty on the point, whether or not he belonged to the number of the predestinated or the elect. Thus in adverting to Christ's words: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, I am in the midst of them," he says: *There, then, would be a true particular church*; and, accordingly, where three or four are assembled, up to the whole number of the elect; and, in this sense, the term church was often used in the New Testament. "And thus," says he, "all the righteous who now, in the archbishopric of Prague, live under the reign of Christ, and in particular the elect, are the true church of Prague." But, *the one Catholic Church is the universitas prædestinatorum, i. e., the prædestinate of all times.* He then distinguishes the church in the proper and in the improper sense, *vere et nuncupative.* The former is the community of the elect, in the second sense also, the *congregatio præscitorum.* Then the church is denominated, in a *mixed* sense, the community of the *præsciti* and of the *prædestinati* at once; so that, in this case, one part is the church in the *proper*, the other in the *improper* sense. That would be the visible church, therefore, in which, as we should say, those who partake of the essence of the invisible church, and those who belong merely to the visible, are commingled. But, then, according to his above-described doctrine, no one can have any certainty on the point, whether he belongs or not to the number of the elect; and hence neither can any one be certain that he is a member of the true church. "It would," says he, "be the height of arrogance for any man fearlessly to assert, without a special revelation, that he is a member of that holy church; for none but the prædestinate is a member without spot or wrinkle of that church. Therefore," says he, "we may well be amazed to see with what effrontery those who are most devoted to the world, who live most worldly and abominable lives, most distant from the walk with Christ, and who are most unfruitful in performing the counsels and commandments of Christ, with what fearless effrontery such persons assert, that they

are heads, or eminent members of the church, which is His bride." When he wrote this, Huss may have had in his thoughts pope John XXIII., of whose vices he had doubtless already heard. Hence, too, he distinguishes those who may at a certain time, by the indications of their life in righteousness, seem to be members of the church, and who yet, as they do not belong to the number of the prædestinate, are not members of the mystical body of Christ.* Paletz had offered it as an objection to the party of Huss, that they talked of four parties in the church, the parties of the three popes, and a fourth neutral party. This led Huss to remark: Paletz did not understand, then, that the universal church of the faithful, which is in the whole world where believers are to be found, the church which is engaged in the warfare and scattered, is divided not merely into three parts, but into very many parts, all which went to constitute the entirety of the church. Had not, then, this church its members, and its sons in Spain under Benedict, and in Apulia and on the Rhine under Gregory, and in Bohemia under John XXIII.? God forbid that the Christian faith should be extinguished in the simple faithful, and that the grace of baptism should be annihilated in baptized children on account of the three beasts that are quarrelling with one another for their dignity, their pomp, and their avarice.†—"Let him retreat within himself," says he of Paletz, "and sing that song of the church: The holy church, throughout all the world, doth acknowledge thee." And pray in the song of the mass: "To thee we offer the gifts for thy holy Catholic church which thou wilt preserve

* Qui nude secundum præsentem justitiam et taliter sunt præsciti de ecclesia pro tempore quo sunt in gratia. Illa autem ecclesia non est corpus Christi mysticum. See the passages cited thus far in *De Ecclesia*, *Opp. I. fol. 196-206.*

† Non cognoscit iste fictor, quod universalis ecclesia Christi fidelium, militans per totum orbem, ubi sunt Christi fideles, est diffusa, quæ non solum tripartitur, imo multipliciter, ultra dividitur in partes ipsam universalem ecclesiam integrantes. Numquid non habet sua membra et suos filios in Hispania sub Benedicto, et in Apulia et in Rheno sub Gregorio, et in Bohemia sub Joanne XXIII.? Absit, quod sit extincta Christi fides in simplicibus Christi fidelibus et in baptisatis parvulis sit extincta papalis (doubtless we should read baptismalis) gratia propter tres bestias, pro dignitate et fastu et avaritia contententes. *Resp. ad Ser. Paletz, Opp. I. fol. 260, 2.*

and guide, scattered throughout all the world. When he sings and prays thus, and meditates on Christ's gospel with the sayings of Augustin, Jerome, and other saints, should he not be surprised rather to learn that the church of Christ is divided into three parts?" He adverts here also to the words of Christ, that where two or three were assembled in his name, he was in the midst of them.—He gives special prominence to the truth that Christ alone is the all-sufficient head of the church; that the church needs no other, and that therein consists its unity. After having cited Ephesians i. 21, to show that Christ is the sole head, he argues that if a Christian in connection with Christ were the head of the universal church, we should have to concede, that such a Christian was Christ himself, or that Christ was subordinate to him, and only a member of the church. Therefore the apostles had never thought of being aught else than servants of that head, and humble ministers of the church his bride; but no one of them had ever thought of excepting himself and asserting that he was head or bridegroom of the church. "Christ," says he, "is the all-sufficient head of the church; as he proved, during 300 years of the existence of the church and still longer, in which time the church was most prosperous and happy." And the law of Christ was the most effectual to decide and determine ecclesiastical affairs, since God himself had given it for this purpose. "For Christ never allows the case to occur in which the church can fail to be governed by his law, since pious priests bring that law before the people to be applied according to the rules of holy teachers,—rules which they have made known under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, as is evident from the examples of an Augustin, a Gregory, an Ambrosius, who, after the apostles, were given to the church to be her teachers." Hence it was manifest, that an Augustin had benefited the church more than many popes had done; and in instruction had done more perhaps than all the cardinals from their first creation down to the present.* Following out certain maxims of Augustin, he declares that Christ himself was the rock

* De Ecclesia, Opp. I. fol. 202, 2, and fol. 224, 2.

which Peter professed, and on which Christ founded the church, who would therefore come forth triumphant out of all her conflicts.* He says, the pope and the cardinals might be the most eminent portion of the church in respect of dignity, yet only in case they followed more carefully the pattern of Christ, and laying aside pomp and the ambition of the primacy, served in a more active and humble manner, their mother the church. But proceeding in the opposite way, they became the abomination of desolation, a college opposed to the humble college of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ.† Why should not Christ, who, in the holy supper, grants to believers the privilege of participating in a sacramental and spiritual manner of himself; why should not he be *more* present to the church, than the pope, who, living at a distance of more than 800 miles from Bohemia, could not by himself act directly on the feelings and the movements of the faithful in Bohemia, as it was incumbent on the head to do? It would be enough, then, to say that the pope is a representative of Christ; and it would be well for him, if he were a faithful servant, predestinated to a participation in the glory of his head—Jesus Christ. Huss asserts that the papacy, by which a visible head was given to the church, derived its origin from the emperor Constantine; for, until the gift of Constantine, the pope was but a colleague of the other bishops.‡ If the Almighty God could not give other true successors of the apostles than the pope and the cardinals, it would follow, that the power of the emperor, a mere man, by whom the pope and the cardinals were instituted, had set limits to the power of God.§ Speaking of the sovereignty of Rome conferred on the pope by Louis the Pious, he says: “The apostle Peter, if God pleased, might surely have said to Louis, I accept not what thou offerest me; for, when I was bishop of Rome, I forsook all, and desired not to receive the sovereignty of Rome from Nero; neither did I need it, and I see that it is a great injury to my successors; for it is a hindrance to them, this same honour, in the preaching of the gospel, in wholesome prayer in fulfilling the divine

* De Ecclesia, Opp. I. fol. 210, 1.

† Ibid. fol. 207, 2.

‡ Ibid. fol. 224, 2.

§ Ibid. fol. 224, 2 et 225.

commandments and counsels; and the greater part of them are betrayed by it into pride. Since, then, the Almighty God is able to take away the prerogatives of all those emperors, and to bring back his church once more to the condition in which all the bishops shall be on the same level, as it was before the gift of Constantine, it is evident that he can give others besides the pope and the cardinals to be *true* successors of the apostles, so as to serve the church as the apostles served it."* He cannot agree with those who required an unconditional obedience to the popes and prelates, in relation to things indifferent. "Reason," he says, "must be man's guide, not only in regard to that which is good in itself, but likewise to things indifferent. As regards that which is good in itself, should a prelate bid his subject give alms while he left his sons to famish, or impose a fast on him which he could not endure, or bid him make many prayers, for confessors are wont to prescribe such oppressive things—certainly in such matters not even the *pope* is to be obeyed; since a father is more bound to support his sons than to give alms to others; and he is not bound to take upon himself an intolerable burden. And the same holds good, also, of things indifferent. For, should a pope command me to play on a flute, to build towers, to cut out clothes, or to weave, must not my reason decide for me, that the pope lays on me a senseless command? Wherefore should I not place my own thought before the pope's dictum? Nay, should he with all the doctors lay on me any such command, reason would still decide, that their command was a senseless one. If the pope of his own motion determined to confer a bishopric on one whose vicious life and ignorance in the language of the community whom he had to guide disqualified him for the duty, even with the command that he should accept of such a charge, would the man be obliged to obey him in this? It is clear that he is by no means obliged to do so. Neither would the people be obliged to accept such a person; for they would not even make one a tender of swine or of goats, who was not qualified to take charge of such animals." And he lays it down as a principle, that the true

* De Ecclesia, Opp. I. fol. 224, 2 et 225.

disciples of Christ must look at the primitive pattern of *Christ himself*, and so far hearken to the prelates, as he prescribed to his flock the law of Christ, that which was conformable to reason and tended to edification. In relation to things indifferent he remarks: to what a condition of slavish servility would Christians be degraded by such a principle; to what abuse, intolerable to Christian men, would such a principle be liable! The pope in such case might order that no Christian should do anything in the whole range of things indifferent, which he might not approve; and so he might commission his satraps to cite any man whom they pleased and make him responsible to their tribunal; and thus might they torment the people after their own good pleasure, and practise extortions upon them, as they have done by their absolutions, reservations, and dispensations. And it may be believed they would do it more, did they not fear that the people, seeing through their trick, would rise up in rebellion against them. "*For,*" says he, "*already God gives light to the people, that they may not be led astray from the ways of Christ.*"* The pain which Huss felt in contemplating the worldliness of the church, his earnest longing for its purification, express themselves in these words of a prayer to Christ: "Almighty Lord, thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest how few, in these times, walk in thee, how few follow after thee, as the head, in humility, poverty, chastity, labour, and patience! Broad and open lies the way of Satan, and many walk therein. Help thy little flock, that they may never forsake thee, but follow on through the narrow path, even unto thyself."† To this worldly spirit, Huss, too, with others, attributes the long, wearisome schism of the church in those days. "As to the question," says he, "whence this devilish schism has arisen, the very blind may know, that it sprung out of the worldly dowry of the

* Jam enim Deus populum illuminat, ne seducatur a viis Christi. De Ecclesia, Opp. I. fol. 245, 2.

† Omnipotens Domine, qui es via, veritas et vita, tu nosti, quam pauci in te ambulant istis temporibus, pauci te caput suum in humilitate, paupertate, castitate, laboriositate et patientia imitantur. Aperta est via Satanae, multi vadunt per eam, adjuva pusillum gregem tuum, ut non te deserat, sed per viam angustiae finaliter te sequatur. Ibid. fol. 206.

church."* Conceiving the unity of the church in the more free and spiritual manner we have described, Huss was prepared also to understand more clearly the multifarious ways of appropriating Christianity, determined by the various peculiarities of individual character, and it is a fine remark which he makes on this subject when he says: "Some love Christ more in reference to his divinity, as we suppose to be the case with the evangelist John; others, more in reference to his humanity, as is thought to be true of Philip; others, more in reference to his body which is the church, and so in many other relations."† Here, then, we find characterised three *τρόποι παιδείας*, three different bents of Christian experience;—the predominant tendency to the godlike in Christ, the predominant bent to the human, and to his revelation in the church. Huss, in a conference with Paletz, had required a proof from holy Scripture in support of something the latter had asserted. Paletz and his associates seized upon this to bring home against him the charge, that he recognised merely the holy Scriptures, but not God, nor the apostles, nor holy teachers, nor the universal church, as judge in the final appeal. To this accusation Huss replies: "One thing Paletz must assuredly know, that in the matter of faith we agree neither with him, nor with any of his adherents, except so far as they can sustain themselves on the foundation of sacred Scripture or on reason."‡ Huss, who showed his Christian freedom in this, that he felt bound to follow the Divine Word and reason independent of all other authority, and in opposition to all other, and who for this reason was accused of pride by those who stood up for a servile obedience to church authority, was, however, very far from being inclined to persist obstinately in holding an opinion which he had once expressed. He says: "Often have I allowed myself to be set right even by one of my own scholars; when I saw that the reasons were good, and I felt bound to thank him for the correction."§

In this work we find laid down the four principles of reform which constitute the soul of the whole movement

* De Ecclesia, Opp. I. fol. 230, 2. † Ibid. fol. 212, 2. ‡ Ibid. fol. 227, 1.

§ Sicut mihi frequentius acciderat, dum mandavi et doctus de meliori etiam gratanter informationem suscipiens discipulo obedivi. Ibid. fol. i. 247, 1.

that proceeded from Huss; the germ and beginning of the four articles subsequently held fast by the more moderate portion of the Hussite party. To wit: in opposition to the charge that the people were led astray by his party, he says—1. It was their endeavour rather to make the Christian people *one*; to bring them into a harmonious unity by the law of Christ; 2. That antichristian ordinances should not delude the people, which could not divide them from Christ; but that the law of Christ in its purity should rule, together with the customs of the people which harmonised with the law of the Lord; 3. That the clergy should live pure, according to the law of Christ; should banish pomp, cupidity, and luxury; 4. That the militant church should consist of the orders instituted by our Lord, namely, the priests of Christ, who faithfully fulfilled his law, the secular nobles, who should compel the rest to observe Christian ordinances, and the lower class of people, who should serve both orders according to the law of Christ.*

We would join, with what we have taken from the book of Huss on the church, what he said akin to this in the tract already mentioned as having been composed about this time and directed against Stanislaus of Znaim. Had he affirmed that a bad pope, who was a reprobate, could not be head of the church, his adversaries who were glad of a chance to carry spiritual matters over into politics, hoping thus to make the doctrines of Huss appear the more dangerous to secular authority, would have argued from it that the king of Bohemia then, if he were a *præscitus*, could not be king. And so Huss would have been held up to view as the representative of a radical and revolutionary party. But Huss uniformly declared himself opposed to this method of carrying the subject over into a wholly different province. Christ, he said, was the head in *spiritual* things, and governed the church in a far more necessary way than the emperor who was head in *temporal* things. For Christ, who is seated at the right hand of the Father, must necessarily govern the militant church as its head.† Against the necessity of a visible head, Huss cited

* De Ecclesia, Opp. I. fol. 231, 1.

† Resp. ad Scr. Stanislai, Opp. I. fol. 277, 1.

the papal female reign of the tenth century, the time of the vacancy in the papal chair.* Christ can better govern his church, says he, by his true disciples scattered through all the world, without such monsters of supreme heads.† The theological faculty had called the pope the secure, never-failing, and all-sufficient refuge for his church. Against this Huss says: No created being can hold this place. This language can be applied only to Christ. He alone is the secure, unfailing, and all-sufficient refuge for his church, to guide and enlighten it. And he appeals to the words of Christ, Without me ye can do nothing (John xv. 5).‡ What sound views he entertained of the progressive advance of the church as a necessarily free progression, is evidenced by these words: "It injures not the church, but benefits it, that Christ is no longer present to it after a visible manner; since he himself says to his disciples and therefore to all their successors (John xvi. 7), It is good for you that I go away, for if I went not away, the Comforter would not come to you; but if I go, I will send him unto you." It is evident from this, as the truth itself testifies, that it was a salutary thing for the church militant that Christ should ascend from it to heaven, that so his longer protracted bodily and visible presence on earth might not be prejudicial to her.§ Accordingly he concludes that the church is sufficiently provided for in the invisible guidance, and should need no visible one by which she might be made dependent. Suppose, then, that the pope who walks visibly among men, were as good a teacher as that promised Spirit of truth, for which one need not to run to Rome or Jerusalem, since he is everywhere present, in that he fills the world. Suppose, also, that the pope were as secure, unfailing, and all-sufficient a refuge for all the sons of the church as that Holy Spirit, it would follow that you supposed a fourth person in the divine Trinity.|| Huss

* Resp. ad Scr. Stanislai, Opp. I. fol. 277, 1.

† Ibid. fol. 277, 2.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. fol. 269, 1.

|| Ponat ergo doctor papam conversantem in humanis ita bonum doctorem, sicut bonus doctor est iste promissus spiritus veritatis, ad quem non est necesse Hierusalem vel Romam currere, cum sit ubique præsens, replens orbem terrarum. Ponat etiam doctor papam ita securum, certum et indeficiens, sed omnino sufficiens, refugium omnibus filiis ecclesie, sicut est iste Spiritus Sanctus, et dicam, quod posuit quartam personam in divinis. Ibid. fol. 283, 1.

sees clearly how the mistaken endeavour to secure unity to the church by externalisation, by making it dependent on a visible head, instead of operating as was intended to prevent heresies and divisions, provoked the contrary and multiplied them. "For," says he, "it is evident that the greatest errors and the greatest divisions have arisen by occasion of this head of the church, and that they have gone on multiplying to this day. For before such a head had been instituted by the emperor, the church was constantly adding to her virtues; but after the appointment of such a head, the evils have continually mounted higher; and there will be no end to all this, until this head, with its body, be brought back to the rule of the apostles." It was not Saracens, Greeks, and Jews alone that took umbrage at this; but since the schism between the popes, there had sprung up such divisions among the people, that few were to be found who agreed together in their walk according to the law of Christ. All *true* unity must have its foundation in Christ.* When the opponents of Huss, following the fashion of their age, resorted to a very arbitrary system of so-called philosophy and false analogies drawn from the organism of the body, to demonstrate the necessity of such an organism as that of the existing hierarchy, confounding together, as was so common in those times, philosophy and theology in a way equally injurious to both, Huss might justly accuse them of unwarrantably mixing up worldly wisdom with revealed truth, and substituting the water of a cistern for that of the living spring.† Of the only necessary and truly uninterrupted agency, in the church, of the Holy Spirit, Huss says: "This Spirit, in the absence of a visible pope, inspired prophets to predict the future bridegroom of the church, strengthened the apostles to spread the gospel of Christ through all the world, led idolaters to the worship of one only God, and ceases not, even until now, to instruct the bride and all her sons, to make them certain of all things and guide them in

* *Omnem vero concordiam veram et sanctam in militante ecclesia oportet esse in Christo domino in stabilitam. Resp. ad Scr. Stanislai, Opp. I. fol. 279, 1.*

† *Quis non conciperet ratione discutiens, quod hoc est cisternam extraneam, prætar aquam Christi fodere, philosophiam fallaciter cum scriptura sacra commiscere? Ibid. fol. 279, 2.*

all things that are necessary for salvation."* To show that the church may be governed best by organs ordained and guided by Christ, he says: "As the apostles and the priests of Christ ably conducted the affairs of the church in all things necessary to salvation, before the office of pope had yet been introduced, so they will do it again if it should happen, as it is quite possible it may, that no pope should exist, until the day of judgment; for Christ is able to govern his church, after the best manner, by his faithful presbyters, without a pope."† So in pointing out the contrast between pious priests and the cardinals, he says: "The cardinals, occupied with worldly business, cannot teach and guide, by sermons, in the articles of faith and the precepts of the Lord, the members of the universal church and of our Lord Jesus Christ. But the poor and lowly priests of Christ, who have put away out of their hearts all ambition, and all ungodliness of the world, being themselves guided by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, teach and guide the sons of the church, quickened by the grace of the Holy Spirit, and give them certainty in the articles of faith and the precepts necessary to salvation."‡ He shows how the church has all that it needs in the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and ought to require nothing else; nothing else can be a substitute for that. Stanislaus of Znaim had affirmed that the church could not have been left by Christ without a visible head, for it would be leaving her in a condition of too great embarrassment. Huss replies: "Far be it from our hearts ever to utter a sentiment so heretical as this; for it directly contradicts the declarations of the gospels. How can the church be embarrassed, when she has the bridegroom with her to the end of the world; when she has a sure

* Ille ergo spiritus, nullo papa conversante in humanis visibiliter, prophetas aspiravit, ut sponsum futurum ecclesiæ præcinerent, apostolos confortavit, ut Christi evangelium per mundum veherent, idolatras ad cultum revocavit, et nunc non deficit ipsam sponsam et omnes ejus filios informare, certificare ac dirigere in necessariis ad salutem. Resp. ad Scr. Stanis. Opp. I. fol. 283, 1.

† Sicut apostoli et fideles sacerdotes Domini strenue in necessariis ad salutem regularunt ecclesiam, antequam papæ officium fuerat introductum, sic facerent, deficiente per summe possibile papa, usque ad diem judicii; cum ipse Christus potest suam ecclesiam optime per suos fideles presbyteros regere sine papa. Ibid. fol. 283, 2. ‡ Ibid.

consolation and an infallible promise, the promise of Christ's own word, that if we ask the Father anything in *his* name, he will give it us? And, Whatever ye ask of the Bridegroom, he will do. From no pope can she obtain this."* Huss says of himself: "Relying on Christ, that Witness whom no multitude of witnesses can draw away from the truth, whom the Roman court cannot terrify, whom no gift can corrupt and no power overcome, I will confess the gospel truth, so long as he himself gives me grace to do so."† In the time of those earlier proceedings for the restoration of concord, Huss expressed, in letters addressed to his friends in Prague, his high assurance of faith, his firm resolution never to give up a particle of the truth, never to purchase peace and quiet by any denial of the truth. We find him already with a mind fully made up to die rather than to swerve from strict integrity and an honest avowal of his convictions. So he writes to a friend, Master Christann of Prachatic, rector of Prague university: "As to the advice of the faculty, with Christ's help, I would not receive it, if I stood before a stake, which was ready prepared for my execution; and I hope that death will sooner remove me or the two who have deserted the truth (Stephen Paletz and Stanislaus of Znaim), either to heaven or to hell, than I shall be induced to adopt their opinions. For I knew them both as men who, in earlier times, truly confessed the truth as it is in Christ; but, overcome by fear, they have turned to flattering the pope, and to lies." "If," he writes, "I cannot make the truth free in all, I will at least not be an enemy to the truth, and will resist to the death all agreement with falsehood. Let the world flow on as the Lord permits it to flow! A good death is better than a bad life. One ought never to sin through fear of death. To end this life, by God's grace, is to pass out of misery. The more knowledge of truth one gains, the harder he has to work. He who speaks the truth, breaks his own neck. He who fears death, loses the

* Resp. ad Scr. Stanis. Opp. I. fol. 283, 2.

† Unde de isto teste confidens, quem nulla multitudo testium potest a veritate flectere, nec Romana curia exterrere, nec aliquod munus curvare, nec aliqua potentia vincere, veritatem evangelicam, quamdiu ipse donaverit, confitebor. Ibid. fol. 287, 2.

joy of living. Truth triumphs over all : he triumphs who dies for the truth ; for no calamity can touch him, if no sin has dominion over him ! Blessed are ye when men curse you, says the Truth. This is the foundation on which I build ; this is the food for my spirit, recruiting it with fresh vigour to contend against all adversaries of the truth." Alluding to the deliberations then in progress about the course which ought to be pursued in order to clear the kingdom from the reproach of heresy, Huss in a letter to the same person remarks : " As to the disgrace of the king and the realm, of what harm is it, if the king is good, and some at least of the inhabitants of the realm are good ? Christ passed through the greatest reproach together with his chosen, to whom he said (John xvi. 2 ; Matt. x. 21, 22), Ye shall be delivered up by your parents and kinsmen ; which is more than to be reproached by Stanislaus or Paletz."*

With this rector of Prague university, Huss kept up a correspondence from Kozi. The same person had written him a letter of consolation, placing before him several passages of Scripture which speak of the sufferings of the righteous, such as 2 Tim. iii. 12, and reasoning from them that he should not allow himself to be troubled by his temporal afflictions and separation from his friends, but rejoice over all. " Very thankfully," answers Huss, " do I accept this consolation, while I fasten on those passages of Scripture, and rely on this, that if I am a righteous man, nothing can trouble me or induce me to swerve from the truth. And if I live and will live devoutly in Christ, then in the name of Christ must I suffer persecutions ; for if it became Christ to suffer and so enter into his glory, it surely becomes us, poor creatures, to take up the cross and so follow him in his sufferings. And I assure you that persecution would never trouble me, if my sins and the corruption of Christian people did not trouble me. For what harm could it do me to lose the riches of this world, which are but dross ? What harm, to lose the favour of the world, which might lead me astray from the way of Christ ? What harm, to suffer reproach, which, if borne with patience, purifies and transfigures the children of God. so that they shine like the sun, in the kingdom of their

* Extracts from these as yet unpublished letters in Palacky, III, 1, pp. 297 and 298, note.

Father? And finally, what harm, to have my poor life taken from me, which is death; if he who loses this, lays death aside, and finds the true life? But this is what they cannot comprehend, who are blinded by pomp, honour, and avarice, and by whom some have been seduced from the truth through fear, where nothing was to be feared." "As to my body," says he, "that I hope, by the Lord Jesus Christ, if mercy bestow the strength on me, to offer up, since I desire not to live longer in this miserable world, if I cannot stir up myself and others, according to the will of God, to repentance. This I wish for you also; and I exhort you, in the Lord Jesus Christ, with all the companions of your board, that you be ready for the trial; for the prelude of Antichrist must begin first, and then the contest will go on in right good earnest. And the goose must flap her wings against the wings of behemoth, and against the tail which always conceals the abominations of Antichrist. The Lord will reduce the tail and his prophets to nothing, *i. e.* the pope and his prophets, the masters, teachers, and jurists, who, under the hypocritical name of holiness, conceal the abominations of the beast." He then adverts to it, that the papacy is the abomination of self-deification in the holy place, as the papacy made traffic of spiritual things. "Woe then is me," he writes, "if I do not preach of that abomination, if I do not weep over it, write about it."* It was a great grief to Huss to be obliged to leave the scene of the conflict, and suspend his labours for his beloved community in Bethlehem Chapel. He had a severe struggle with himself, his most earnest wishes calling him back to his flock, while on the other hand imperative reasons bade him to remain concealed awhile, that the best interests of this community might be promoted. He considered it of prime importance here to make the words and the example of Christ his rule of action. To this a great deal relates, in the letters which he wrote to his community or to his fellow-combatants among the clergy, whose opinion he consults on this subject.† In a letter to

* Hus, Opp. I. fol. 94, 1 et 2.

† Ep. ad Mag. Martinum et Mag. Nicol. de Miliczin, Opp. I. fol. 93, 2, and fol. 94, 1.

two clergymen, he writes: "Having an earnest desire to preach the gospel, I am troubled, since I know not what I ought to do. I have, indeed, pondered in my soul those words of our Lord (John x. 11, 12), A good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. But he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep and fleeth, and the wolf catcheth them and scattereth the sheep." And then he says: "But I have thought also of the words of our Lord (Matt. x. 23), But when they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another. Behold the precept or promise of Christ: I know not which of these two opposite things I ought to do." He then cites a letter of Augustin, written during the persecutions of the Vandals, and addressed to Honoratus, a clergyman, who had asked his advice as to the course of duty. "Give me, then, your opinion. Could you rest satisfied with the advice of Augustin? For my conscience troubles me. I know not but my absence may give scandal, though the sheep do not want for needful nourishment from the divine word. On the other hand, I encounter the fear-lest my presence should, through that execrable device of an interdict, be laid hold of as a pretext for depriving them of their nourishment, namely, the communion and other things ministrant to salvation. Therefore, let us humbly beg that the Almighty God would teach us what I, a poor creature, ought to do in this present case, so as not to swerve from the path of uprightness." Accordingly he writes, just before the Christmas festival of 1413, to his Bethlehem congregation: "Dearly beloved, the day of our Lord's nativity draws near; therefore make clean the inner house, that it be pure from all sin. So far as you are able, hear diligently and devoutly the word of God. Care not for those enemies who would keep you from hearing the sermons in Bethlehem Chapel. Once I myself was the reason why they endeavoured to draw you away from that house. Now they have no such reason. But if they say I have run away and left you; be assured that I did it voluntarily, to fulfil the word of Christ and in imitation of his example, who says, Whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of

that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet (Matt. x. 14, and x. 23)," and he adverts to the fact that Christ often, when the Jews would have killed him, escaped from their hands (John x. 39; xi. 54 ff.). "It is no wonder, therefore," he proceeds, "that, in imitation of his example, I have withdrawn myself for the present; and that the priests seek for me and ask where I am. Know then that I, led by this exhortation of Christ and by his example, have withdrawn myself, that I may not prove to the wicked an occasion of everlasting damnation; and to the good, cause of oppression and trouble: and then again, that the godless priests may not wholly prevent the preaching of the divine word. I have not yielded, therefore, with any intention that divine truth should be denied, through me, for which truth I hope, with God's help, to die. In the next place, you know that it became Christ, as he himself says, to suffer until the time appointed by the Father. Of this, then, be well assured, that whatever God has determined to do with me, will be done. And if I am worthy to die for his name, he will call me to suffering. But if it be his pleasure to draw me forth, once more, to the preaching of his word, this depends upon his own will." He then observes that "it was no doubt the wish of many priests in Prague that he should return thither; for the interdict would then supply them with an excuse for their indolence: no masses would have to be read, no hours to be sung; but all such were enemies to the preaching of the gospel, because their vices were exposed thereby to the light. Nevertheless you," he adds, "who love God's word and strive to become one with it, would be glad to see me because you love me as your neighbour. I, too, would be glad once more to see you, that I might preach to you God's word; for this must ever be the great and especial concern of the ministers of the church, to preach to the people the gospel of Christ in its purity and with fruit, so that the people may know God's will, avoid the bad and be led in the good way of a just and virtuous life. Woe therefore to the priests who neglect God's word, who lead lives of indolent repose when they might be preaching it. And woe to those who hinder the preaching and the hearing of

the divine word. But blessed are they who hear it and treasure it up in their hearts, and by good works observe it."* On the festival of Christmas, he wrote to that community: "Though I am at present separated from you in the body, because perhaps I am not worthy to preach to you any longer the word of God; yet the love with which I infold you, impels me to come, in the way at least of addressing you a few words." The few words were to this effect: that what, in other circumstances, he would have said to them from the pulpit, was briefly summed up in this letter; that they should lay to heart the significance of the festival; that he wished them the heavenly blessings secured to the faithful by the event which this festival commemorated.† In another letter to the same community, he applies to himself the words of Paul in the epistle to the Philippians (i. 23): "I say to you, my beloved, though I am not in prison, yet I would gladly, for Christ's sake, die and be with him; and yet I would gladly too, for your good, preach to you God's word; but I am in a strait betwixt two, and know not which to choose. For I await God's mercy, and I fear again lest something bad be done among you, so as to expose the faithful to persecution and the unbelieving to eternal death." He says of his enemies: "They at present rejoice, and wish that not only in me the word of God may perish, but also that Bethlehem Church, where I preached to you the gospel of Christ, may be closed. But without God's permission they will accomplish nothing; if, however, he permits it, it will be done on account of the sins of unthankful men; as Bethlehem where he was born, and Jerusalem where he redeemed us, were utterly destroyed."‡ Although a presentiment of the death which might befall him in contending for the truth had long been on his mind, yet he had at the same time a prophetic consciousness that, though his person might perish, the truth would come forth triumphant out of the contest, and would by other instrumentalities be still more powerfully attested. We may look upon such utterances of Huss, which we

* Ep. ad Mag. &c. fol. 98, 2, and fol. 99, 1.

† Ibid. fol. 99, 1 and 2.

‡ Ibid. fol. 97, 1.

shall occasionally come across, as a prophecy of the German Reformation, though Huss was really thinking of that which was presently to take place on the theatre of his own past labours. Thus he writes a letter to the Bethlehem community, at the time when various attempts were made to break it up: "They have directed their attacks against many churches and chapels, that the word of God might not be preached in them. Yet Christ has not permitted them to accomplish their purpose. Already, as I hear, they are seeking the destruction of Bethlehem Chapel, and in other chapels they forbid the preaching of God's word. Yet I trust in God that they will accomplish nothing. At first they prepared snares, citations, and ban for the "goose," and already they are lying in wait for some of you. *But since the goose, a tame animal, a domestic animal with no wings to soar aloft, has broken through their snares, we may the more confidently expect that other birds who, by the word of God and their lives do soar aloft, will turn their toils and plottings to nought.* And after having remarked how, by the interdict, they were seeking to suppress the worship and word of God in Prague, he adds: "*But the more they seek to conceal their own real character, the more openly it betrays itself; and the more they seek to spread out their decrees like a net, the more they are rent in pieces; and in seeking to have the peace of the world, they lose that and spiritual peace at the same time; in seeking to injure others they injure themselves most. It happened to them as to the priests of the Jews; they lost that which they were endeavouring to secure, and fell into the evil they were aiming to avoid, in fancying that they could overcome and suppress the truth, which always conquers; since this is its habit and nature, that the more it is obscured the more it shines out, and the more it is beat down the higher it rises. Priests, scribes, and Pharisees, Herod, Pilate, and the other dwellers in Jerusalem, condemned truth, and gave it over to death and the grave; but it arose again, all-conquering, and substituted in place of itself twelve other heralds.* And this same Truth has sent to Prague instead of one feeble goose, many falcons and eagles, which excel in sharpness of vision all other birds. These, by the grace of God, soar upward, high upward, and swoop away other birds to Jesus Christ, who will strengthen them, and confirm all his faithful

ones. For he declares I am with you always, unto the end of the world. If *He* then be with us, the true God and mightiest, best defender, who, in his malice, shall be against us? What fear or what death shall separate us from Him? What do we lose when, *for his sake*, we lose earthly goods, friends, honours, and this wretched life? Surely we shall then first be delivered from this wretchedness, and obtain a hundredfold greater possessions, dearer friends, and a more perfect joy. Death shall not deprive us of these things. For he who dies for Christ conquers, and will be delivered from all sorrows and attain to that eternal joy to which may our Saviour Jesus Christ bring us all! This letter," he concludes, "dearest brethren and beloved sisters, I have written to the end that you might stand fast in the truth you have known, fear no citations, and attend not a whit less than you ever did, on account of their cruel threats, to the preaching of God's word. For God is faithful, who will establish you and preserve you from evil." Then follows a postscript of requests, hinting at the labours to which Huss was then devoting himself in his retirement. "Pray for those who preach God's truth with grace, and pray also for me, that I may more richly write and preach against Antichrist, and that God may lead me in the battle, when I am driven to the greatest strait, that so I may be able to maintain *his own* truth. For know, that I shrink not from giving up this poor body for God's truth, when I feel assured there is no want of the preaching of God's word, but that daily the truth of the gospel is more widely spread. But I desire to live for their sakes to whom violence is done, and who need the preaching of God's word, that in this way the malice of Antichrist may be discovered as a warning to the pious. I preach therefore in other places, ministering to whoever may be found there; since I know that God's will is fulfilled in me, whether it be by a death hung over me by Antichrist, or whether I die in sickness. And if I come to Prague, I am certain that my enemies will lie in wait for me and persecute you, they who do not serve God *themselves* and hinder others from serving him. But let us pray God for them, if peradventure there may be some elect ones among them, that they may be turned to the know-

ledge of the truth."* Respecting the attempts to shut up or destroy Bethlehem Chapel, he says: "They would suppress God's holy word, tear down a chapel erected for its service, and hinder the people in their salvation." He calls upon them to ponder well the disgrace which would be brought upon their country, their nation, their race; the calumny and shame which would fall upon themselves without any fault of their own. Antichrist and the devil could do them no harm, if they remained faithful to divine truth. They had now, for some years, been lying in wait for himself, and had not (as he hoped in God) hurt a hair of his head, but only occasioned him greater cheerfulness and hilarity. Great pains would be taken to induce them to abjure the errors imputed to them. Huss warns them that, by so doing, they would either deny the truth, or wrongly accuse themselves of errors which they were far from cherishing. He exhorts them to trust in Christ the Almighty.† He reminds the Bethlehem congregation of his many years of labour among them and of its fruits, and says: "For the sake of this, as God is my witness, I have laboured more than twelve years in preaching among you the divine word; and in this my greatest consolation was to observe your earnest diligence in hearing God's word and to witness the true and sincere repentance of many." He warns them against the fickleness of those who once fought by him and then went over to the other side. "Have no regard for those persons walking a crooked path, who have turned about and are now the most violent enemies of *God*, and *our* enemies." He reminds them that, even among the disciples of Christ, were those who once walked with him and then fell away from him. Exhorting them not to follow such examples, but faithfully to persevere in the confession of the truth and in attachment to those whom the Lord had sent to preach it to them, he requests them to pray for himself, that God would give him good success in preaching his word. "In all the places," says he, "where a need exists, in cities, in villages, in castles, in the fields, in forests, wherever I can

* Ep. ad Mag. &c. fol. 96, 2, and fol. 97, 1.

† See Ferd. B. Milowec, *Letters of John Huss*, written at Constance, 1414-1415, published in the original Bohemian. Leips. 1849. Let. 4.

be of any use, pray for me, that the word of God may not be kept back in me."* Sympathy with the cause of Huss, we perceive, had spread into other cities of Bohemia. Thus we find a letter of his to a foreign community, exhorting them to concord and warning them against internal dissensions.† To a parish priest in Prachatic, one who had been concerned in passing the sentence of condemnation against the forty-five propositions of Wickliff and in burning his writings, and who persisted in clamouring against Huss himself as a heretic, he wrote a letter challenging the man to convict him of a single heresy, but upbraiding him with the fact that, with all his pretended zeal for orthodoxy, he had constantly neglected the duties of the pastoral office, for which he had been thirty years responsible. "You might yourself call to mind how, for about thirty years, you have sheared the sheep in Prachatic. And where is your residence, your work; where the pasturage of your sheep?" He reminds him of what Christ, to whom he must render an account of his doings, says against unfaithful shepherds (John x.), and adds: "This you should have thought of before you denounced your neighbour as a heretic."‡

From expressions which drop from him in several of these letters, it is evident that his separation from his beloved flock bore heavily upon his spirits. There may be some ground, therefore, for the report that Huss in the course of this year, 1413, went privately several times to Prague, and resided there; leaving the city, as soon as his presence became known, and began to make a stir.§ Some time afterwards, to be nearer to his church, he changed his residence, and accepted the invitation of a friend, belonging to the knightly order, Henry of Lazan, who offered him, as a place of refuge, his castle, the stronghold of Cracowec. From this spot, too, he laboured for the spread of evangelical truth, visiting those places where large multitudes were wont to gather, and preaching before them. From all quarters, it is said, the people flocked together in crowds to hear him.

* Opp. I. fol. 99, 2, and 100, 1.

† Ibid. fol. 93, 2.

‡ Ibid. fol. 100, 2.

§ Palacky, III. 1, p. 304.

Meanwhile, the time drew near for the assembling of the general council at Constance. To the objects of this council, the reformation of the church in its head and members, the restoration of concord, tranquillity, and peace in the church, necessarily belonged the adjustment of the controversies in Bohemia and Moravia, which threatened to spread wider every day, and which had already attracted universal attention. Chancellor Gerson had at an earlier period already apprised archbishop Conrad of Vechta of the danger which threatened the church of a revolution growing out of the commotions in Bohemia, and exhorted him to apply strenuous measures for the suppression of heresies. Nor could it fail to happen that the emperor Sigismund would be urged to bring this matter also within the circle of business to be transacted at the council. He invited his brother, king Wenceslaus, to send Huss to Constance, and promised to furnish the latter with a safe-conduct. He caused Huss to be informed by Lefl, of Lazan, one of the two knights employed to negotiate this affair between him and the emperor, that he would make sufficient provision for his being heard before the council, and that if he did not submit to the decision of the council, he would send him back unharmed to Bohemia.* Huss needed no such invitation either from the emperor or the king. An opportunity to defend himself from the charge of heresy, to give an account of his faith in presence of the representa-

* Ep. 34, Opp. I. fol. 69, 1. The instrument relating to this matter drawn up by the emperor, whereby Huss is taken under the protection of the emperor and the empire, speaks expressly not only of the journey of Huss to Constance, but also of his return home: *Ut ei transire, stare, morari, redire libere permittatis.* Opp. I. fol. 1, 2. We notice this on account of the sophistical interpretations of that document in modern times, as though it were merely a passport given to Huss for his journey to Constance, and as though the emperor, therefore, had not bound himself by his word to secure safety to Huss in Constance itself. To be sure, there is no express mention of this, nor ought there to be any, if we consider the nature of the document, which is addressed not to the council but to the lords and magistrates in the districts through which Huss would be obliged to travel: but as Huss was taken unconditionally under the protection of the emperor and the empire, as it speaks not barely of his journey to Constance but also of his return home, it is implied that he should have it in his power to return home unharmed from Constance.

tives of all Western Christendom, and to testify against the corruptions of the church, was what he most earnestly desired. But, before he set out on his journey to Constance, he appeared once more, in the August of 1414, in Prague. Here, by a public notice posted on all the church doors, he invited any man who pleased, under the condition that if he could not make good his case he would agree to suffer the same punishment which Huss would be liable to if convicted, to convict him before the archbishop, or a synod to be convoked by him, of any heresy. Huss could not get permission, it is true, either for *himself* or for his advocate Jesenic, to appear before the synod. He was put aside with the declaration, that they were too busily occupied with other affairs of the kingdom, to be able to attend to his matter. He got a certificate drawn up to that effect. He had an interview, moreover, with the archbishop,* after which the latter made out for him a declaration, stating that he found him guilty of no heresy; that he had nothing to lay against him, save this only that he had remained so long under the ban, and nothing to advise, save only that he should get it removed as soon as possible.† He also submitted to a special examination of the charges brought against him, and undertook to demonstrate their futility.‡ He procured an investigation of his creed under the direction of the pope's inquisitor, the bishop of Nazareth, and he too drew up a testimonial, certifying that he found nothing heretical in him. But though many false accusations had been brought against Huss, and his expressions often perverted by his enemies, yet it is evident from the expositions we have already given, that outwardly devoted as Huss at that time really was to the dominant church system, the principles expressed by him did, in fact, contain within them germs of doctrine which would lead to an overthrow of that system. But it depended entirely upon the fact,

* There was probably no *personal* interview. The statement is simply (fol. 3, 2): *Supplex petebat a dominis baronibus, ut suo nomine agerent cum domino archiepiscopo.* Neither does Palacky know of any such interview.

† *Opp. I. fol. 3, 2.*

‡ The report of this trial from a copy made by Peter of Mladenowic, secretary to that zealous friend of Huss, the Knight John of Chlum, is printed in the *Stud. u. Kritik.* 1837, 1, Heft.

how far, how sharply and profoundly, the individual who conducted his examination was capable of seeing, whether or not that individual would be able to detect in the obedience, which appeared so obvious as a matter of fact, the germ of resistance which lay concealed at bottom. And we certainly should not omit to notice, that the advocates of the church party in Prague at that time might be determined in some measure, by a regard to the party opposed to them, to act otherwise than they would have done in different circumstances.* Huss before his departure wrote to the emperor Sigismund, thanking him for the trouble he took on his account. He says: "I will humbly trust my life on it, and under the safe-conduct of your protection shall, with the permission of the Highest, appear at the next council at Constance." He begs the emperor to provide for it; that, coming in peace to Constance, he might there have an opportunity publicly to confess his faith. "For, as I have taught nothing in secret, so I wish to be heard, to be examined, to preach, and, under help of the Divine Spirit, to answer all who are disposed to accuse me, not in secret but publicly. And I hope I shall not be afraid to confess the Lord Christ, and, if it must be, to die for his law, which is the most true." The emperor, as we find from this letter, had promised Huss that his cause should be conducted to a happy issue.† whence, it is evident, how far the emperor was from wishing or anticipating any such result as that which actually came about. Huss thanked the emperor for his kind intentions, and in allusion to his promise, said, "Which, too, your Majesty will perform to the honour of the King of kings." It is evident from many things which he says, in his farewell letter, that Huss set out on his journey to Constance with a feeling of perfect confidence in the emperor's word, and the promised letter of safe-conduct, though that paper had not yet been put into his hands. Several of his friends cautioned him against trusting too much in the emperor's word—he could deliver

* As Paletz expresses himself: No one ventured to call the followers of Huss by their proper name, quia rerum et corporum periculum immineret. Opp. I. fol. 255, 2.

† Volens ad finem laudabilem deducere. See this letter in Palacky, III. 1, pp. 312 and 313, note.

him over to his enemies.* Afterwards, in the midst of his trials at Constance, the words of one of his congregation, Andrew, a Polish tailor, recurred to his thoughts, who, in taking leave, said to him: "God be with thee; for hardly, think I, wilt thou get back again unharmed, dearest Master John, and most stedfast in the truth! Not the king of Hungary but the King of Heaven reward thee with all good for the good and true instruction that I have received from thee."† It was the consciousness of following a divine call which animated Huss in directing his steps to Constance, though the presentiment of death was not absent from his mind. He was resigned to the will of God, let his cause issue as it might, the glory and triumph of divine truth, the weal of the souls for whom he had laboured, being his sole wish. So he expresses himself in his last letter, taking leave of his congregation, written the day before his departure, October 10th, 1414. "You know," he begins, "my brethren, that I have now long instructed you in good faith, setting before you *God's* word, not things remote from the faith in Christ, not false doctrines. For I have always sought and will ever seek, so long as I live, your welfare." He then says that he had intended, before leaving, to preach before them, and defend himself from the false accusations against his faith, but had been prevented by want of time and reserved it for a future opportunity. He tells them, that he is going into the midst of his worst enemies. "There will be more against me," he says, "in the council of my enemies, than there were against our Saviour: first, of the number of bishops and masters: next, of the princes of this world and Pharisees. But I hope in God, my Almighty Saviour, that, on the ground of his own promise and in answer to your fervent prayers, he will bestow on me wisdom, and a skilful tongue, so as to be able to stand up against them. He will, too, bestow on me a spirit to despise persecutions, imprisonment, and death; for we see that Christ himself suffered for the sake of his chosen, giving us

* Huss himself called to mind, when his death was near at hand, what his friends in Bohemia had said to him on this subject: *Quod cavere deberem a suo conducto, et: Ipse te dabit inimicis*, and the words addressed to him by a certain knight: He might be sure that he would be condemned. He supposes this person must have known the purpose of the emperor. Ep. 34, Opp. I. fol. 68, 2.

† Ibid. Ep. 33.

an example, that we should suffer all things for Him and for our salvation. He certainly cannot perish, who believes on him and perseveres in *his* truth." "If my death," says he, "can glorify his name, then may he hasten it, and give me grace to endure with good courage whatever evil may befall me. But, if it is better for me that I should return to you, then let us beseech God for this, that I may come back to you from the council without wrong; that is, without detriment to his truth, so that we may from thenceforth be able to come to a purer knowledge of it, to destroy the doctrines of Antichrist, and leave behind us a good example for our brethren." "Perhaps," says he, "you will never see me again in Prague; but, if God should, in his mercy, bring me back to you again, I will with a more cheerful courage go on in the law of the Lord; but especially when we shall meet together in eternal glory. God is merciful and just, and gives peace to his own here, and beyond death. May He watch over you, who has cleansed us, his sheep, through his own holy and precious blood, which blood is the everlasting pledge of our salvation! And may He grant that you may be enabled to fulfil his will, and having fulfilled it, attain to peace and eternal glory through our Lord Jesus Christ, with all who abide in his truth!"* He sent back also a letter to his disciple, Martin, a young man who had been trained up from childhood under his care, superscribed with the injunction that he was not to open it till he received certain intelligence of his death. It contained touching exhortations to purity of morals, warned him against extravagance in dress, a foible which still clung to the young candidate, and enjoined it upon him never to seek a parish for any earthly advantage, but only from a desire to promote the welfare of souls.† He cautions him against imitating what was faulty in his own example, mentioning, among other things, his passionate fondness, before he entered the priesthood, for the game of chess, in pursuing which amusement he had allowed himself to grow excited even to anger against others. Such was the

* Opp. I. fol. 57, Ep. 2, and Mikowec, 1, Letter.

† Si vocatus fueris ad plebaniam, honor Dei, salus animarum et labor te moveat, non habitio scropharum vel prædiorum. Opp. I. fol. 57, 1; Ep. 1.

delicate sensibility of his conscience.* He departed from Prague on the 11th of October, 1414, in company with four others—the two knights who had it in charge to protect him from all injury, Wenzel, of Duba, and John, of Chlum, that zealous, noble friend of Huss, whom we shall often have occasion to mention hereafter; Chlum's secretary, the Bachelor Peter of Mladenowic, who also was sincerely attached to Huss, and his friend the delegate from Prague university, Priest John Cardinalis, of Reinstein.

Though it was more particularly with the party of the German theologians that Huss had thus far had to contend, yet the reception he met with in his journey through Germany was by no means such as he might have been led to expect in a country where the report of his heresies had been so industriously circulated by his enemies. A great longing for the reformation of the church had already spread wide among the German people; and this perhaps inclined many to look favourably on a man who had distinguished himself, as they may have heard in various ways, by his zeal against the corruption of the spiritual orders, and for the purification of the church. Their personal intercourse with Huss, the impression conveyed by his looks and his discourse, would tend to strengthen this inclination to regard him with favour. He nowhere avoided notice: in every town he showed himself openly in his carriage, travelling in the dress of a priest.† In all the places through which he passed, he posted up public notices in Bohemian, Latin, and German, offering to give any one who wished to speak with him, on the matter of his faith, an account of his religious convictions, and to prove that he was very far from cherishing anything like heresy. In the little town of Pernau, the parish priest with his vicars waited upon him in person at his quarters, drank to his health from a large tankard of wine, conversed with him on matters of Christian faith, avowed that he fully agreed with him, and declared that he had always been his friend.‡ In Nurem-

* *Seis, quia (proh dolor) ante sacerdotum meum libenter et sæpe schacos lusi, tempus neglexi et sæpe alios et me ad iracundiam per illum ludum infeliciter provocavi.*

† Mikowec, 2, Letter of the 16th of Nov., 1414.

‡ *Opp. I. fol. 57, 2; Ep. 3.*

burg, the ancient seat of the Friends of God, merchants, who arrived earlier than himself, had already spread the news that he was on his way and might soon be expected, and large bodies of the people came out to meet him. Before dinner he received a letter from a parish priest of the church of St. Sebaldus, requesting an interview with him, to which he cheerfully consented. During dinner a note was handed to him by one of his attendants, Wenzel, of Duba, purporting that, in consequence of the notice he had posted up, many citizens and masters wished to speak with him. This, too, was welcome tidings. He left his table for the purpose of conversing with them. The masters were for having a private interview, because they had scruples about the propriety of speaking on such matters before laymen. But Huss would listen to no such proposal of discussing matters of faith privately, declaring that he had always testified of gospel truth openly, and meant to do so still. In presence of the burgomaster and many citizens, he conversed about his doctrine till nightfall, and his hearers professed to be satisfied with him. If Huss sought to approve himself as a genuine witness of gospel truth, before all the world, we surely ought not to look upon this as an ambitious effort on his part to court the approbation of the many; unless we are disposed to raise the same objection against every zealous preacher of evangelical truth; which, to be sure, is often done. While Huss was disputing with certain persons in the little Suabian town of Bibrach, the noble Knight John, of Chlum, took so lively an interest in this disputation, and spoke with so much warmth in favour of the doctrines of Huss, that he was taken for a doctor of theology; hence Huss was wont afterwards, in his letters, playfully to call him the Doctor of Bibrach.* Well aware of the great ignorance of the people in the things of religion, Huss was accustomed wherever he lodged to leave for his hosts on departing a copy of the Ten Commandments, or even to write them in the meal, as he had written them on the walls of Bethlehem Chapel.

He reached Constance on the 3rd of November, some days after the arrival of pope John, whom he met on the way.

* Opp. I. fol. 71, 1; Ep. 45 in the marginal note.

During the first four weeks which Huss spent at Constance nothing was proposed or said with regard to his affair. He would have found no friends, he writes, in Constance, if his adversaries from Bohemia had not taken pains to make him hated.* Meantime his most violent enemies, the already-mentioned Michael de Causis, Paletz, and the prime author of all the last commotions in Prague, the man who as papal legate had brought to Bohemia the bull of indulgence and crusade, Wenzel Tiem, formerly dean, then provost of Passau, had also arrived.† These persons set everything in motion against him. Michael de Causis, on the next day after his arrival, caused a notice to be posted on all the churches, accusing him as the vilest heretic. His opponents brought with them the writings which he had composed during the last disputes and attempts at compromise; writings in which he had most freely expressed his opinions; and these they now put in circulation. These were especially to be used against him. The form of accusation, drawn up by Michael de Causis, was well calculated to arouse against Huss the anxious suspicions of the hierarchy. Assertions ascribed wrongly to Huss, and assertions which had really been made by him, were lumped together; and his accuser declares, that if he should be acquitted, the clergy in Bohemia must suffer grievous persecutions in their property and persons; everything would be turned to confusion, and the evil would spread through all Germany; and such a persecution of the clergy and the faithful would ensue, as had never been known since the days of Constantine. If he should in any way get safely out of the hands of the council, he and his adherents would have it to say, that his doctrines must have been approved by the council. The princes and laity generally would fall upon the clergy, as they had already done in Bohemia, and as they were generally inclined to do.‡ The pope sent as his delegate, to Huss, the bishop of Constance, accompanied by his officials, and the *Auditor sacri palatii*, a high officer of the

* Mikowec, 2, Letter.

† Words of Huss: *Multi adversarii et fortes insurgunt contra me, quos præsertim concitat venditor indulgentiarum, Pathaviensis decanus.* Opp. I. fol. 58, 2; Ep. 6.

‡ Hist. Hussi, Opp. I. fol. 6, seq.

papal court. They informed him it had been with the pope a matter of much deliberation how to dispose of the interdict pronounced on the place where he resided. Finally, the pope had concluded to resort to the pope's plenitude of power, and to suspend the interdict and the ban for the present. It was only requested that, in order to avoid giving scandal, he would keep away from mass and other church solemnities; in all other respects, he should have liberty to go wherever he pleased. But Huss had never relinquished his right, as a priest, to hold mass; nor did he mean to do it now;—a pertinacity which could not fail to give great offence to the hierarchical party.* When many of the friends of Huss, protesting to his innocence, urged the pope to retract all that had hitherto been done in the matter, he gave an evasive answer, laying all the blame on the enemies of Huss in Bohemia, who refused to take back anything, but warmly persisted in their accusations against him.† Yet many, no doubt, were anxious that the whole affair should be settled *before* it was brought up as a matter for public deliberation. And perhaps Huss, if he could have been prevailed upon to humble himself before the papal authority, and to give in a recantation of the heresies of which he had been accused, might have secured to himself this advantage. Two bishops and a doctor of theology actually made to him a proposition of this sort.‡ But Huss would consent to nothing like it. He wanted a public hearing before the assembled council; before that council he felt impelled to give in the account of his faith, and bear witness of the truth, for which he contended. He hoped that nothing would be done in his affair until the emperor Sigismund should arrive, who had already caused him to be informed of his satisfaction at learning that he had started on his journey without waiting for the letter of safe-conduct, which had first reached him in Constance. When the

* Words of the Magister Joh. Cardinalis of Reinstein: *Magister quotidie divina peragit et in tota via peregit hucusque.* Opp. I. fol. 58, 1; Ep. 4.

† *Papa non vult tollere processus et dixit: Quid ego possum tamen? vestri faciunt.* Ibid. fol. 58, 2; Ep. 6.

‡ *Sed locuti sunt duo episcopi et unus doctor cum Jo. Lepka, quod ego sub silentio con ordarem.* Ibid.

emperor arrived he hoped by his intercession to obtain a public hearing.* Though he could not foresee what was to be the issue, and was far from amusing himself with any false hopes, yet trust in God and in his truth raised him even now above all fear; and regarding himself simply as an instrument of that truth, he confidently expected that it would come forth triumphant out of every conflict. "Assuredly," says he in a letter to Prague, "Christ is with me as a strong champion; therefore fear I not what the enemy may do to me." He says, speaking of the plots of his enemies: "I fear nothing; for I hope that, after a great conflict, will ensue a great victory, and after the victory a still greater reward, and a still greater discomfiture of my enemies."†

Relying upon the expectation that he would be permitted to speak before the assembled council, he availed himself of his leisure at Constance in preparing several discourses which he meant to deliver on that occasion. Accordingly we find a discourse in which he designed to give an account of his faith.‡ He testified in it his assent to the church-confession of faith; appealing to the fact that the Apostles' Creed had been inscribed by him on the walls of Bethlehem Chapel.§ He declares, too, that it was not his design to teach anything contrary to the decisions of the general councils, or contrary to the ancient canon and the authority of the approved church teachers; always presupposing, however, that they asserted nothing but what was contained, *implicite* or *explicitite*, in the sacred Scriptures.|| And since his disputes on the matter of indulgence had given occasion to the charge brought against him by some, that he did not acknowledge the common fund of the merits of

* Huss remarks of one of the knights: D. Latzenbock injunxit mihi, quod ante adventum regis nihil attentem quoad actus. Et spero, quod respondebo in publica audientia. Ibid. Ep. 5. Observing that men feared his public answer, he adds: Quam spero de Dei gratia, quod sim eam consecuturus, dum rex Sigismundus adfuerit. Ibid. Ep. 6.

† Ibid.

‡ De fidei suæ elucidatione.

§ Symbolum plebem docui, et ipsum in pariete capellæ, in qua prædicavi, describere præcepi vulgariter. Opp. I. fol. 51, 2.

|| Veneror etiam omnia concilia generalia et specialia, decreta et decretales, et omnes leges, canones et constitutiones: de quanto consonant explicitite vel implicite legi Dei. Ibid. fol. 48, 2.

the saints : since he was accused of contending against the veneration of the saints, their intercession, the veneration of Mary, he vindicates himself, as he could with truth and propriety do, against all such accusations. With regard to several of these doctrines, he was not conscious as yet of the contradiction in which they stood with his biblical principles. All this would, in time, have more clearly developed itself to his understanding if he had been permitted to continue his labours for a longer period ; and as to that matter, his opponents may doubtless have seen, more distinctly than he himself did, to what his principles were leading. With regard to several other points, which also had something to rest upon in the purely Christian consciousness, he never perhaps would have been led to oppose the doctrine of the church even by a still further development of his principles ; for, in defining the doctrine of the community of saints, a doctrine which he also believed was taught in the New Testament (Eph. iv. 3, 15 ; 1 Cor. iii. 4 ff.), he says : " This communion of the saints is a participation in all the good which belongs to all the members of the mystical body of Christ, so long as they are found in a state of grace." From this he argues that the glorified saints assist and sustain the elect on the earth, take joy in their repentance and their progress, just as the saints on earth assist those who are passing through the refining process of the purgatorial fire, with their prayers, their good works, their fasts and alms, so that they are more speedily delivered out of this state and brought up to their heavenly home. " And as I heartily believe," he goes on to say, " in this community of saints, and have now publicly avowed it with my lips, so I entreat the most gracious Lord Jesus Christ, who never refuses his grace to the truly penitent, that he would forgive the sin of those who, privately or publicly, have said of me that I denied the doctrine of the intercession of saints, whether in relation to those who go on pilgrimages, or those who have died in grace." He argues this from the fellowship of all the members of the body of Christ with one another, where one sustains the other ; adducing as proof those cases in Scripture where the centurion's intercession with Christ had benefited his servant, and where the Syropheni-

cian woman had helped her daughter, and then goes on to argue: "If a saint on earth, still affected with sin, can benefit another believer and the whole church by his intercession, how foolish it would be to say that one who is present with Christ in glory could not do the same!" The second discourse relates to the restoration of peace. He distinguishes three kinds of peace,—peace with God, with ourselves, and with our neighbour. The first he considers to be the foundation of all other peace. He then makes a like threefold distinction in speaking of the assembly which had been convoked for the restoration of peace, describing peace with God as having its foundation in supreme love to God in the church; peace with ourselves as consisting in this, that the church should govern itself in holiness; peace with our neighbour, that it should satisfy every neighbour in all that is requisite for his eternal welfare. To deficiency in the first, he traces all failure in respect to the last. The worldliness of the church he designates as the ground of corruption and schism, giving special prominence to the corruption of the clergy. The evil was bad enough already, when they failed in that which constitutes the chief end of their vocation, to hold forth the word of God to the laity. When priests neglected this, they were already angels of darkness, clothing themselves like angels of light; servants of Antichrist, not servants of Christ; and their neglect to study the divine word, their want of fidelity to that word, was the source of all the other corruptions, which he then goes on to portray.* Again, as Huss had been accused of rejecting the authority of church traditions and of the ecclesiastical laws, of disturbing the foundations of ecclesiastical and civil order, it was his wish to explain, in a discourse before the council, the sense of the propositions really expressed by him and perverted by his opponents. This he did in his discourse on the sufficiency of the law of Christ for the guidance of the church,† where we shall recognise a great deal that corresponds with the doctrines of Matthias of Janow. He begins with saying: "I, an

* De Pace, Opp. I. fol. 52, seq.

† De Sufficientia Legis Christi ad Regendam Ecclesiam.

ignorant man, being about to speak before the wise of all the world, entreat you by the mercy of Jesus Christ, true God and true man, that you would calmly listen to me. For I know from the words of Nicodemus (John vii. 51) that the law judgeth no man before it hear him and know what he doeth. I, the poorest of priests, will however endeavour, as I have aforetime endeavoured, to carry out the law of Christ in myself, by taking heed, so far as the grace of God enables me, against revenge, envy, and vain-glory; since from my heart I strive only for the glory of God, the confession of his truth, the banishment of all evil thoughts against my neighbour, and the defence of the law of Christ. For I am bound carefully, humbly, and patiently to defend the most excellent law of Christ, as Christ himself and his disciples did the same." "As I have often said before," he adds, "so now too I solemnly protest, that I never have and never will pertinaciously affirm anything which is contrary to a truth of faith. I hold firmly all the truths of faith, as I have ever firmly held them and am resolved that I will ever firmly hold them; so that, rather than defend an error opposed to them, I would prefer, hoping in the Lord and with his help, to suffer a terrible punishment of death; nay, sustained by the grace of God, I am ready to give up this poor life for the law of Christ. As I have in my academical answer and acts and in my public preaching often submitted, so now too I submit and will in the future humbly submit myself to the order of this most holy law, to the atonement by the same, and to obedience to it; ready to retract anything whatever that I have said, when I am taught that it is contrary to truth." In the prosecution of his theme he takes notice of an objection, namely that, according to the above supposition of the sufficiency of the law of Christ, all other laws would be superfluous, and ought therefore to be done away with. He disposes of this objection by referring all other laws to this *one* law, by holding that they are to be regarded only as dependent on the latter, their force consisting in their harmony and correspondence with the same. All other laws were, in their principle, contained *implicite* in this law, were only the evolution of this law, or simply designed to establish and promote its claims in all circumstances and relations;

therefore, subservient to it. "Human laws," says he, "are included in the divine law; nay, they are themselves the law of Christ in so far as they are subservient to this law." Of the "canon law," he remarks that it was partly derived from the divine law, and partly akin to the civil law, and included in both these parts. Civil laws had been created by occasion of the sins of mankind, for the purpose of securing forcibly the state of justice in the commonwealth, so far as it concerned earthly goods; while the evangelical law was designed for the preservation of goods in the kingdom of grace. Accordingly he is of the opinion that everything else should be made subservient to Christianity; because the trades, professions, and liberal arts should all be regulated with reference to the law of Christ as the highest end, should be subservient to that law; the trades and professions, in preparing what is requisite for the supply of bodily wants; the liberal arts, in promoting the understanding of the holy Scriptures.* But the expectation of Huss, that he would have liberty to speak freely before the assembled council was not fulfilled. The intrigues of his enemies; the tickets sent about, by his friends or his enemies, announcing that he would appear and preach in public on a certain Sunday;† the fear that Huss might escape from Constance, a rumour to this effect having already got abroad;‡ the uncompromising

* De Suffic. Leg. Christi, Opp. I. fol. 44, 2, seq.

† It was an announcement of this sort, that whoever would come to church to hear him on this particular Sunday should have a ducat. Master Cardinalis of Reinstein, who reports the fact, does not himself decide whether this was done by a friend or an enemy: *Alias nescitur, an amicus vel inimicus heri intimavit in ecclesia, quia Hus dominica proxima prædicabit ad clerum in ecclesia Constantiensi, et cuilibet præsentem dabit unum ducatum.* Opp. I. fol. 58, 1; Ep. 4. And among the articles of complaint afterwards brought against Huss, one was that he had preached openly. V. d. Hardt, IV. p. 213.

‡ It is plain how this rumour arose when we compare what Palacky (III. 1, p. 321 note) has communicated from the manuscript report of Peter of Mladenovic, the freshest and most trustworthy witness, who was at that time in the vicinity of Huss. A hay-waggon covered with canvas had left the city and afterwards returned without the covering. Hence it was subsequently noised abroad that Huss had been concealed under the canvas. The canonical Ulrich of Reichenthal, and the courtmartial Dacher, in their histories of the council of Constance, are cited as witnesses of the flight of Huss. To say nothing of the confusion

zeal with which he unfolded and explained his principles before all who visited him in his place of abode : all these things coöperated to bring it about that, on the 28th of November, 1414, Huss was deprived of his liberty.

On that day, towards noon, an embassy from the pope and cardinals, consisting of the bishops of Augsburg and Trent, the burgomaster of Constance, and the lord Hans of Baden, visited Huss, with whom his faithful friend the knight of Chlum happened then to be present. The envoys told him it was now agreed to give him the hearing which he had so often demanded, and he was invited to follow the embassy into the pope's palace. The knight of Chlum, who at once saw through the motives of the whole arrangement, rose with indignation and exclaimed : Such a violation of the honour of the emperor and of the holy Roman empire was not to be tolerated. The emperor had given his own word to Huss that he should obtain a free hearing at the council. He himself, who had received it

of dates in the former, it is easy to see how he may have been deceived by the rumour ; and their histories, having been drawn up long after the time of the events, are on this account the less worthy to be relied on as vouchers for facts. The silence of Huss and of his accusers with regard to any such event is assuredly the most certain testimony of his innocence. As everything was raked up which could possibly be made use of against him, as there was so great a desire especially to smooth over the affair of his imprisonment, they certainly would not have neglected to mention any such attempt of Huss to escape, if such a thing had in any way been possible. In particular, his violent enemy, the already-mentioned bishop John of Leitomyšl, who spared no pains in bringing together facts to justify his conduct towards Huss, would never have omitted to take notice of this flight. But all he has to say against Huss in this regard is, that he preached publicly at Constance. But even this could be disputed by the knight of Chlum, who solemnly affirmed that Huss had never left his quarters during the whole time of his abode in Constance. He denies, *quod ipse Hus a tempore adventus sui ad hanc civitatem usque ad diem et tempus captivitatis suæ unum passum extra domum hospitii exiisset* (V. d. Hardt, IV. 213). It is plain, therefore—and the same thing has been already shown by Palacky in the passages cited on a former page—how entirely without foundation the story about the attempt of Huss to escape is represented by Aschbach, as a credible one in his History of the Emperor Sigismund (II. 32) ; not to mention that he describes it as having occurred at a time when it could not have occurred, viz., in the interval between the appearance of Huss before the papal chancery and his return to his quarters ; for, as we have seen, no such return ever took place.

in charge to watch over the safety of Huss, was responsible for that charge and bound to see that nothing was done against the emperor's word. He could not permit this, and must protest against such a proceeding. The cardinals would do well to consider what they were about, and not suppose that they could be allowed to trifle with the honour of the emperor and of the empire. The bishop of Trent here interposed: They had no bad intentions whatever. Everything should be done in peace; they wished only to avoid making a stir. Huss now took up the word, and declared that he had not come there to appear before the pope and Roman court, but to appear before the whole assembled council, to give in their presence an account of his faith; yet he was ready to appear and testify of his faith also before the cardinals. Though they used force against him, still he had a firm hope in God's grace that they never would succeed in inducing him to fall from the truth. Saying this, Huss followed the embassy. On the lower floor, he was met by the mistress of the house, who took leave of him in tears. Struck with a presentiment of death, and deeply moved, he bestowed on her his blessing. Mounting on horseback he proceeded, with the embassy and the knight of Chlum, to the court. The prelates, fearing a movement on the part of the people, had taken care that the city magistrates, who were completely subservient to the council, should place soldiers in the neighbouring streets, so that, if necessary, the step might be carried through by force. When Huss appeared before the chancery, the president of the college of cardinals said: It was reported of him that he publicly taught many and grievous heresies, and disseminated them in all Bohemia. The thing could not be allowed to go on so any longer; hence he had been sent for, with a view to learn from himself how the matter stood. To this Huss replied, that such was his mind, he would prefer to die rather than to teach *one* heresy, not to say *many*; and the very reason for which he had come there was to make himself answerable to the council, and to recant if he could be convicted before it of holding any error. The cardinals expressed their satisfaction at the temper of mind here manifested by Huss. They then adjourned, leaving Huss and Chlum

under the surveillance of the men at arms. About four o'clock in the afternoon they again assembled in chancery, and several Bohemians were also in attendance, both enemies and friends of Huss: among the former, Paletz and Michael de Causis; among the latter, the already named John Cardinalis. The former did their utmost to prevent Huss from being set at liberty; and having gained their object, burst into a loud murmur of applause, crying out insultingly to Huss: "Now we have you, nor shall you escape till you have paid the uttermost farthing." That John of Reinstein was already well known as a skilful diplomatist, who had frequently been employed by king Wenzel in transacting business with the Roman chancery. Hence he is *said* to have derived his appellation Cardinalis, which was first a nickname, but afterwards retained by him. Paletz now reminded him of the injury done to his reputation by his connection with the Hussite heresy: he who once enjoyed so much influence with the cardinals had now become a mere cipher. The master replied: "Keep your pity for yourself; if you knew any evil of me, you might have cause to pity me." And thus they separated. Towards evening, it was intimated to Chlum that he might retire to his lodgings; Huss must remain there. Filled with indignation, Chlum hastened away to the pope, who happened to be still present in the assembly. He overwhelmed him with reproaches that he had dared thus to trifle with the word of the emperor, that he had thus deceived him. He held up to him the inconsistency between his conduct and his promises; for he had assured him and another Bohemian, his uncle Henry of Latzenbock, that Huss should be safe, even though he had killed the pope's brother. The pope, however, exculpated himself by saying that *he* had nothing to do with the imprisonment of Huss. He referred to the cardinals as responsible for the whole transaction. "You know very well," said he, "the terms on which I stand with them." And true enough it was, indeed, as may be gathered from the preceding narrative, that the pope stood entirely at the mercy of the cardinals, and in his present dubious position was compelled to comply with all their wishes. He certainly had much more to do in looking after his own personal interests than

after the conformity of others to the orthodox faith. The same night Huss was conducted to the house of a canonical priest, in Constance, where he remained eight days under the surveillance of an armed guard. On the 6th of December he was conveyed to a Dominican cloister on the Rhine, and thrown into a narrow dungeon filled with pestiferous effluvia from a neighbouring sink.

The knight of Chlum did not cease to complain of the violation done to the emperor's safe-conduct. He immediately reported the whole proceeding to the emperor. The latter expressed his indignation at it, demanded that Huss should be set free, and threatened to break into the prison by force, if the doors were not voluntarily thrown open.* On the 24th of December, Chlum, in the name of the emperor, publicly posted up a certificate, declaring, in the most emphatic language, that the pope had been false to his promise, that he had presumed to insult the authority of the emperor and of the empire, by paying no regard whatever to the emperor's demands. When the emperor himself should come to Constance—and it was announced that he might be expected the next day—it would be seen what his indignation was at learning of such violation of his majesty.† After such declarations it may well be asked, What did the emperor really mean by all this? How far was he in earnest; and how far merely acting a part and pretending anger from motives of policy? That he had an interest in representing himself to be more annoyed and angry than he really was, and in uttering threats which he never meant to fulfil, is evident. For it behoved him to do all he could to remove from himself the reproach of a want of good faith,‡ and to soothe the highly-irritated

* V. d. Hardt, IV. p. 26.

† Chlum says in this declaration: Quapropter ego regio nomine manifesto, quod detentio et captio dieti Hus est facta contra regis omnimodam voluntatem, cum sit in contemptum suorum salvi conductus et protectionis imperii facta, eo quod pro tunc dictus dominus meus a Constantia longe distabat, et si interfuisset, nunquam hoc permisisset. Cum autem venerit, quilibet sentire debet, ipsum de vilipensione sibi et suæ et imperii protectionis ac salvo illata conductui, dolorosius molestari. V. d. Hardt, IV. p. 28.

‡ If the imperial *salvus conductus* had been nothing but a pass made out by the emperor, as modern historical sophists assert, there would, indeed, have been no need of all this.

temper of the important party of Huss in Bohemia, and of the knights who espoused his cause most decidedly. But still there is no evidence from facts to justify any such supposition. For, if the emperor took no further steps to procure the release of Huss, still this would not amount to a proof of his insincerity. If he did not do this, he did something else. He had an honest intention to abide by his imperial word; he was at first really annoyed, that it had been presumed so grievously to violate it; and he was supposed to have sufficient freedom of mind and firmness of character to defy the spirit of the times, so far as to carry through what he had considered to be just and right, in spite of the authority which was held to be the most sacred in the church. Indeed, pope John afterwards particularly brought it forward, as we have mentioned on a former page, in complaint of the emperor, and in exculpation of his own flight from Constance, that the emperor restrained the liberty of the council in transacting business relative to the faith, and would not let justice have its course. But, leaving the emperor's declarations entirely out of view, we should certainly take into account the great influence which the power of the church exercised over him. When, on the 1st of January, a deputation of the council appeared before the emperor, and declared to him that he ought not to interfere in transactions relative to matters of faith, that the council must have its full liberty in the investigation of heresies, and in its proceedings against heretics, Sigismund no longer ventured to resist, and promised the council that he would allow them all liberty and never interpose his authority in these matters.* In truth, had the emperor been disposed to insist farther on the liberation of Huss, it might easily have led to consequences most perilous to the future proceedings of the council. The pope might have taken advantage of this to gain over a large party to his interests, and the seeds of schism, which, as we have before seen, were already present in the council, would doubtless have gone on to multiply, till they brought on an open breach, and, perhaps, a breaking up of the council. There is

* V. d. Hardt, IV. p. 32.

certainly much that is true in the vindication of himself by the emperor Sigismund against the Bohemian estates, who espoused the cause of Huss, when, in the year 1417, he writes: "If Huss had, in the first instance, come to him, and had gone with him to Constance, his affair would perhaps have had a quite different turn. And, God knows, that we experienced on his account and at his fall, a sorrow and pain too great to be expressed by words. And all the Bohemians that were then with us certainly knew how we interceded for him, and that several times, seized with indignation, we left the council. Nay, on his account, we went away from Constance, till they declared to us, If we would not allow justice to be executed at the council, they knew not what business they had to be there. Thus we verily thought that we could do nothing further in this affair. Nor could we even speak about it, for had we done so, the council would have entirely broken up."*

The preliminary examinations of the process against Huss were now to begin, in the order in which the complaints had been brought against him by Paletz, Michael de Causis, and others; and for this purpose, on the 1st December, a committee was nominated, which consisted of the patriarch John, of Constantinople, the bishop John, of Lubeck,† and Bernhard, of Citta di Castello. To these men the pope committed the affair by a constitution in which he already names Huss as a dangerous heretic, who was spreading abroad mischievous errors, and had seduced many; and charged them to report the result of their examination to the council, that the latter might pass a definitive sentence on Huss, in conformity thereto.‡ The agreement of these two testimonies is decisive against the statement of Hermann v. d. Hardt, who, following the report of Corretanus, describes the commission differently. Huss demanded of the committee a solicitor; but to a heretic no such privilege could be granted; and it was refused him. Huss thereupon said to his judges: "Well, then, let the Lord Jesus be my advocate, who also will soon be your judge."§ A severe taunt on the council, was an

* Cochlæus, p. 157.

† Palacky, p. 330, has, after Mladenowic, bishop of Lebus.

‡ Raynaldi Annales, vol. 1, 1414, s. 10 ff.

§ We take this from the words of Huss himself: Cogitationem de

expression afterwards uttered by a Parisian deputy in connection with another affair, which was to this effect, that if Huss had been allowed an advocate, they would never have been able to convict him of heresy.* The unhealthy locality of his prison brought upon Huss a severe fit of sickness, fever connected with an affection of the bladder, which it was feared he could not survive. The pope sent him his own body physician; for it was not desired that he should die a natural death. Through the intercession of his friends he was permitted to exchange his cell for more airy rooms in the same convent, which was now assigned to him as his prison. Here he was attacked with a new access of that severe distemper, after having spent eight weeks in his prison, as appears from his own words: "I have been a second time dreadfully tormented with an affection of my bladder, which I never had before, and with severe vomiting and fever; my keepers feared I should die; and they have led me out of my prison, (probably only for a few moments to enjoy the fresh air)."† His keepers were, for the most part, very kind to him;‡ hence, to show his gratitude, he afterwards composed for them a few papers on practical Christianity. In fetters, and amidst these severe sufferings, he was obliged to draw up his answers to the complaints brought against him by Michael de Causis and Paletz. It was not without deep pain he

objiciendis commisi Domino Deo, ad quem appellavi, quem judicem, procuratorem et advocatum mihi elegi coram commissariis, expresse dicens: Dominus Jesus meus advocatus sit et procurator, qui vos omnes brevi judicabit. Opp. I. fol. 71, 2; Ep. 46. Further: Item sciatis, quod coram testibus et notariis in carcere petivi commissarios, ut mihi deputarent procuratorem et advocatum, qui promiserunt et postea dare noluerunt, Ego commisi me Domino Jesu Christo, ut ipse procuret et advocet et judicet causam meam. Ibid. fol. 72, 2; Ep. 49.

* Joannes Hus hæreticus declaratus et condemnatus per sacrum concilium generale si habuisset advocatum, nunquam fuisset convictus. Acta in Conc. Const. circa Damnat. Joann. Parvi. Gerson, Opp. V. p. 444.

† Words of Huss: Cras octo hebdomæ erunt, quod Hus posita est ad refectorium.—Nam iterum horribiliter fui vexatus per calculum, quem nunquam prius passus sum, et gravem vomitum et febres. Jam custodes timebant, ne morerer, qui eduxerunt me de carcere. Opp. I. fol. 74, 1 et 73, 2; Ep. 51.

‡ So says Huss himself: Omnes clerici cameræ domini papæ et omnes custodes valde pie me tractant. Ibid. fol. 74, 1; Ep. 52.

found out that they used against him passages from intercepted letters, in part distorted, and familiar expressions which he had dropped in conversation with theologians, who had formerly been his friends, and afterwards deserted him.* Huss, to whom, as we shall presently see, it was a source of great disappointment and mortification, that he could not succeed in obtaining a hearing from the council, had complained of this in a letter to Jacobellus, of Misa, and told him that he had learned from the mouth of his enemies that he could not obtain a public hearing, except by paying 2000 ducats to the people of the Roman court, whom he styled servants of Antichrist. This letter his enemies' spies contrived to get into their hands, as well as a letter by Jacobellus, who reflected severely on the conduct of the council. Both were to be used against him; and both were laid before him. This system of espionage, and the indiscretion of his friends, bore heavily on the spirits of Huss, and he writes that this Jacobellus, who was the loudest to warn against hypocrites, was the man who suffered himself to be most deceived by them. Paletz visited him during his first illness as an accuser; the sufferings of his old friend could not move him to relent. He never spoke to him, in the presence of the commission, but in the harshest language—language calculated to arouse prejudice and suspicion—such as that, since the time of Christ, more dangerous heretics than Wickliff and Huss had not appeared: all that ever attended his preaching were infected with the disposition to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation. Said Huss to him: Sad greeting do you give me, and sadly do you sin against your own soul! Look; perhaps, I am to die; or, should I recover my health, to be burned; what return will you then get for all this in Bohemia?" † He speaks of Paletz, generally, as his fiercest enemy, who did him the most injury. He had, for

* Nam Michael et literas et alia explorat, et Paletz illa antiqua, quæ locuti sumus ante multos annos, articulat. Opp. I. fol. 72, 2; Ep. 48.

† In the first letter in which Huss says anything about this, the one written during his sickness, he writes concerning Paletz: Qui me jacentem in infirmitate coram multis salutavit salutatione horribilissima, quam postea dicam vobis, si Deo placuerit. Ibid. fol. 71, 2; Ep. 46. He quotes his very language, *ibid.* fol. 68, 2; Ep. 33.

example, strenuously urged that all the adherents of Huss should be cited and forced to an abjuration of heresy. Huss, adverting to this, says: "May God Almighty pardon him!"* The profound impression which the treatment experienced from his former friend made on the tender sensibilities of Huss, appears from several of his letters. "Never in my whole life," says he, "did I receive from any man harsher words of comfort than from Paletz."† And, in words of St. Jerome, he describes how beyond all other wrong it must needs wound the heart, to see love converted into hate in one who has the wrong all on his own side.‡ In a letter of the 20th of January, 1415, he says: "God has appointed me those for my inflexible enemies, to whom I have shown much kindness, and whom I loved from my very heart."§ He found himself situated like the apostle Paul, when he wrote the epistle to the Philippians, partly filled with forebodings of death, partly cherishing the expectation that God would by his own almighty power deliver him from the prison, and bring him back again to his flock. However it might turn, he was resigned to the divine will; as he says in a letter written on the 20th of January, 1415: "His will be done, whether it please him to take me to himself, or to bring me back to you."|| "At one time God comforts, at another afflicts me," he writes to John of Chlum; "but I hope that he is ever with me in my sufferings."¶ "The Lord delivered Jonas out of the belly of the whale," he says in another letter, "Daniel from the lions' den, the three men from the fiery furnace, Susannah from the court of the false witnesses; and he can deliver me, too, if it please him, for the glory of his name and for the preaching of the word. But, if the death comes, which is precious in the eyes of the Lord, then let the name of the Lord be praised!"** To Peter of Mla-

* Opp. I. fol. 75, 1; Ep. 54.

† Ibid. fol. 74, 1; Ep. 52.

‡ He quotes the language of Jerome: *Plus vero in nobis ea tormenta sæviunt, quæ ab illis patimur, de quorum mentibus præsumebamus, quia cum damno corporis mala nos cruciant amissæ caritatis. Et patet dolor meus ex parte Paletz.* Ibid. fol. 71, 2; Ep. 46.

§ See Mikowec, l. c., Letter 3. In the Latin edition,—Opp. 1, fol. 59, 2; Ep. 10,—this passage is wanting.

|| Mikowec, Letter 3. Opp. I. fol. 60, 1; Ep. 10.

¶ Opp. I. fol. 73, 2; Ep. 51.

** Ibid. fol. 74, 1; Ep. 52.

denowic he writes: "And by the grace of God, my return to Prague is not a thing impossible; still I have no desire for it, unless it be according to the will of the Lord in heaven."* He was filled constantly with a prophetic consciousness, that whatever might be the issue of his own case, truth would triumph, and go on to reveal itself more gloriously and mightily; as he says: "I hope that what I have spoken in secret will be proclaimed on the house-tops."† It is remarkable that this prophetic consciousness was reflected also in his dreams so as to react cheerfully upon his feelings. He told the following dreams which he had in the earlier times of his imprisonment to the knight of Chlum. He dreamt that certain persons resolved to destroy all the pictures of Christ on the walls of Bethlehem Chapel; and they did it. On arising next day he beheld many painters, who had drawn more pictures and more beautiful ones than there were before, which he gazed on with rapture. And said the painters to the concourse of people: Now, let the bishops and priests come and destroy these pictures! And a great multitude of people in Bethlehem joyed over it, and he rejoiced with them, and amidst the laughter he woke up. And they had indeed already scattered it about among many, that they meant to destroy the inscriptions on the walls. The knight of Chlum, in his answer to this letter, exhorted him, first of all, to dismiss all these fancies for the present, and whatever else might occupy his mind, and confine his attention simply to one object, namely, how he might best reply to the articles of complaint. But, he added, "The truth, which cannot deceive, forbids that you should feel any solicitude about this;" and he refers to Matthew x. 19. Then, in compliance with the invitation of Huss, he expounds his dream as follows: "The picture of Christ painted on the wall of Bethlehem Chapel is the life of Christ which we are to imitate; the immoveable words of holy Scripture, which are there inscribed, are his words which we are to follow. The enemies of the cross of Christ seek to destroy both in the night, because the Sun of Righteousness has gone down to them by reason of their

* Mikowec, Letter 3. Opp. I. fol. 66, 2; Ep. 29.

† Ibid. fol. 72, 2; ep. 48.

wicked lives; and they seek to bring both into oblivion among men. But, at the morning dawn, when the Sun of Righteousness arises, the preachers restore both after a more glorious manner, proclaiming that which had been said in the ear, and was nearly forgotten, from the house-tops. And from all this will proceed great joy to Christendom. And though the "goose" is now brought down by sickness, and may next be laid a sacrifice on the altar,* yet will she hereafter, awaking as it were from the sleep of this life, with Him who dwells in heaven, laugh and hold them in derision, who are the destroyers at once of Christ's image and of Scripture. Nay, even in this present life, she will, with God's help, still restore those pictures and those words of Scripture to the flock and her friends with glowing zeal." Huss, in his answer, assures the knight of Chlum of his agreement with this explanation, and goes on to say: "Though Cato tells us that we ought not to care for dreams, and though God's commandment settles it fast, that we ought not to pry into the interpretation of dreams, yet I hope that the life of Christ, which, by my preaching in Bethlehem, has been transcribed upon the hearts of men, and which they meant to destroy there, first, by forbidding preaching in the chapels and in Bethlehem; next, by tearing down Bethlehem itself,—that this life of Christ will be better transcribed by a greater number of better preachers than I am, to the joy of the people who love the life of Christ, over which I shall, as the Doctor of Bibrach says, rejoice when I awake, that is, rise from the dead." † As we may conjecture from pope John's letter to the commission appointed to inquire into the affair of Huss, it probably had not been intended at the outset to grant him a public hearing, but they would have preferred to dispose of the matter by private management; the council was to give the final decision according to the report of the committee. The proposition was made to Huss, that he should

* We have thus endeavoured to make out the sense of the words which were probably badly translated into Latin.

[The Latin words are: *Et auca licet in ara posita, nunc posita infirma carne tristabitur, in futuro tamen, &c.*, and might perhaps be rendered: "And though the goose, offered upon the altar, is at present depressed on account of the laying off her frail flesh, yet hereafter," &c.

† Mikowec, &c. fol. 71; Ep. 44, 45, 46.

submit to the decision of twelve or thirteen masters. According to the prevailing church theory which taught that the individual must renounce his own will, and submit to an authority without himself, it might be expected that a man would readily consent to fulfil this duty of subordination, in respect also to matters of conviction. But Huss, of course, with the views which he entertained of the relation of every individual to Christ, and of the rights of reason grounded in that relation, could never accept such a proposition as that. But he submitted a protest, demanding leave to render an account of his faith before the whole council.* This was the point to secure which the effort his friends were ever most earnestly solicited, and it was one which he hoped, through the support of these friends among the Bohemian knights, he should succeed in securing. He wished, as he expressed it in a petition addressed to the council through the president of the committee, to have the liberty either to defend his doctrine after the scholastic fashion before the council, or else to preach before them. But he did not expect that the president of that committee would actually present his petition to the council.† When, after he had submitted his explanations on the several articles, he was asked whether he would defend them, he threw himself in reference to the whole on the decision of the council; but, without doubt, on the presupposition that the council would decide according to the word of God, and in whatever respects he erred,—for, that he had erred in some respects he ever thought to be possible,—would point out his error by that word. So he declared, defending himself, perhaps, against the reproaches of friends, who may have expressed their dissatisfaction with a submission so liable to misinterpretation.‡ “Behold, I call God to witness, that no other answer seemed to me at that time more suitable; for, I had written it down with my own hand, that I would defend nothing, pertinaciously, but was ready to be taught by any man.”§ He expresses it as his

* Mikowec, &c. fol. 74, 1; Ep. 52. † Ibid. fol. 74, 2; Ep. 54.

‡ Chlum had written to him: “Your friends, especially Jesenic, are troubled on account of the answer which you gave in your cell. But what has been done cannot be altered.” Ibid. fol. 72, 1; Ep. 47.

§ Ibid. fol. 72, 2; Ep. 48.

wish, if he should appear before the council, that he might be allowed to have his station near the emperor, so that he could hear and understand him well; and also near to the knight of Chlum and his other friends, "In order," he writes, "that you may hear what the Lord Jesus Christ, my advocate, counsellor, and most gracious judge, will inspire me to speak, and thus whether I am suffered to live, or must die, you may be true and well-informed witnesses, and liars may not have it to say that I deviated in the least from the truth which I preached."* He requests the knight of Chlum to ask the emperor that he might be released from his close confinement, so as to be at liberty to make suitable preparation for his public trial. "Pray the emperor," he writes, "that for my sake, and for the vindication of the cause of justice and truth to the glory of God and the advancement of the church, he would take me from prison, so that I may have liberty to prepare myself for my public hearing." † Huss says, it was particularly urged against him, that he had hindered the announcement of the crusade-bull; that he had continued for so long a time under the ban, and still persisted in saying mass; that he had appealed from the pope to Christ. This appeal, as he writes, they read out before him; and with joy and a smile on his lips he acknowledged it to be his. ‡ When they, furthermore, declared that the opinions which he had advanced, and of which we have already spoken, concerning the right of princes to deprive the clergy of property which they abused, were heretical, Huss desired an opportunity of speaking on this particular point with the emperor. He might be indulging the erroneous idea that he could come to an understanding with him on these points; that he could satisfy him that he was here defending the interest of the state against the claims of the hierarchy. The knights, says he, have only to represent to the emperor, that if this article should be condemned as heretical, he would be obliged to condemn the acts of his father, Charles IV., and his brother, Wenceslaus, who had taken away temporal goods from the bishops.§ He wished that his writings in relation to these points might be com-

* Mikowec, &c. Ep. 49.

† Ibid. fol. 73, 1; Ep. 49.

‡ Ibid. fol. 74, 2; Ep. 53.

§ Ibid. fol. 74, 2; Ep. 54.

municated to the emperor, all that he had said concerning the dotation of Constantine, and on the argument to prove that tythes were nothing but alms; * and he was anxious also that the emperor should read his answers to the 45 articles of Wickliff. † He would be glad to have just a single interview with the emperor before he should be condemned; since he had come there by his will and under the promise of a safe-conduct, ‡ glad if the emperor could be induced to show pity to his own birthright, and not suffer it to be invaded with impunity by a malignant foe, (by which he may have meant Paletz or Michael de Causis). In another letter he expresses the same wish, that, in case he obtained a public hearing, the emperor would not suffer him to be remanded to prison, but allow him liberty to consult with his friends, and say something to the emperor which might be of benefit to Christendom, and to the emperor himself. § But it must be evident that these hopes and wishes rested on a slender foundation, when we fairly consider the emperor's relation to the church. And Huss himself, too, sometimes perceived, no doubt, that after what had transpired he had nothing to expect from the emperor in relation to these matters; for he thus writes, in one of his letters, "I am surprised that the emperor has forgotten me, and that he does not speak a word for me; and, perhaps, I shall be condemned before I can have a word with him. Let him look to it himself whether this is to his honour." In the midst of his own trials, Huss was still tenderly alive to the interests of his friends. He besought the knight of Chlum to use his influence with the Bohemian knights to bring it about, that a citation to the adherents of Huss, which had been issued at the instigation of Paletz, should be revoked. He expressed the solicitude which he felt for his friends in Constance, particularly for the master of Reinstein; fearing that, by their too free language, they might bring themselves into difficulty.

* See above, the document cited on this point.

† Mikowec, &c. fol. 74, 1; Ep. 51.

‡ Sub sua promissione, ut salvus ad Bohemiam redirem; *ibid.* Ep. 54, fol. 75, 1—a proof how far men were from supposing at that time that the emperor's instrument was a mere passport.

§ *Ibid.* fol. 73, 1; Ep. 49.

Reinstein should be cautious, he wrote to his friends ; for those whom he considered to be his friends were more probably spies. He had heard it remarked by the commission, that John Cardinalis wanted to defame the pope and the cardinals, by insinuating that they were all guilty of simony. It would be his advice that he should keep himself as closely as possible attached to the emperor's court, lest they might get possession of his person as they had done of himself.* To the knight of Chlum he wrote, entreating him not to be disheartened at the great expenses which he was obliged to incur at Constance. "If God delivers the goose from her confinement, rely upon it, that you shall never have cause to regret the expense you have been at." † In his confinement, Huss composed several small treatises of doctrine and ethics ; either for immediate practical use, as the little tracts which he wrote at the request of his keepers for their special benefit, and that of others in like circumstances ; ‡ or, for the purpose of testifying his faith in opposition to prevailing suspicions : his short tracts on the Ten Commandments ; on the Lord's Prayer ; on mortal sin ; on marriage ; on the knowledge and love of God ; on the seven mortal sins ; on penance ; on the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. In all his writings, Huss was accustomed to make great use of the church fathers, and displays extensive reading in that field. The writings just mentioned abound in this sort of learning, and yet he was totally in want of books. At first he had not even a Bible ; and was obliged to ask his friends to procure him one.§ He says, indeed, that he had brought with him the Sentences of the Lombard and a Bible ; but he could not have taken them with him into his prison.|| Yet his citations from these books are so minutely correct, that we can hardly suppose Huss depended wholly upon his memory. It is probable, therefore, that he always had by him a collection of excerpts, made in the time of his earlier studies. In his exposition of the Ten Commandments, we may notice as one thing serving to mark the

* Mikowec, &c. fol. 75, 1 ; Ep. 54. † Ibid. fol. 74. 1 ; Ep. 51.

‡ He requests the Knight of Chlum to have his tracts *De Mandatis, De Corpore Christi, De Matrimonio*, copied by Peter of Mladenowic.

§ Ibid. fol. 29, 2—44, 1.

|| Ibid. fol. 74 ; Ep. 52 and 53.

peculiarity of his theological point of view, that he applied the command to keep holy the Sabbath-day, literally to Sunday. Worthy of notice, too, is his spiritual conception of holiness, which he represents as consisting in the perfect knowledge of the Triune God and of Christ as man, from which knowledge proceeds love; whence the saints love God supremely; and from love proceeds joy; and from knowledge, love, and joy, proceeds perfect satisfaction.* All the four principal mysteries of the Christian faith are set forth by him in his tract on the Lord's supper: the mystery of the trinity; the doctrine of divine foreknowledge and predestination,† (whence it is evident what importance was attached by Huss to the doctrine of absolute predestination); the doctrine of the incarnation of the divine Word; the doctrine of the body and blood of Christ in the holy supper. The devout remembrance of the sufferings of Christ constitutes, according to the view which he here expresses, the spiritual participation of the Lord's supper.‡ He declares it to be sufficient for the faith of the simple, to believe that the true body and the true blood of Christ are in the holy supper—the body in which he was born, in which he suffered, rose from the dead, and ascended to heaven. He expressly testifies here his belief in transubstantiation, which term he employs. He asserts that, from the beginning, he had taught in his sermons the transformation of the bread, and never the opposite. He compares the perversion of his language by his enemies with the perversion of Christ's words by the Pharisees. Only the crass expressions relating to certain sensuous affections to which the body of Christ was supposed to be subject in the Lord's supper, he rejects; declaring that all such affections related only to the species of the bread and wine,—where the doctrine *de accidentibus sine subjecto* evidently lay at bottom—that doctrine which, as we have seen, Wickliff, from his own particular theological and philosophical position, condemned with peculiar abhorrence. It is to be remarked that Huss considers the passage in John vi. as also referring to the outward participation of the Lord's

* Mikowec, &c. fol. 69, 2; Ep. 37.

† Et cognitionem, dilectionem et gaudium consequitur quietatio.
Ibid. fol. 31, 1.

‡ Ibid. fol. 38, 2.

supper; on the ground of which interpretation the Hussites afterwards restored, as the ancient church had instituted, the communion of infants. Like Matthias of Janow, Huss, too, encouraged the frequent participation of the Lord's supper among the laity; and he found occasion to complain that even the rule prescribing the act of communion once a-year was not observed; that many received the Lord's supper only at the last extremity, and several not at all. He says of such: "How shall these people be ready to die for Christ, who have no pleasure in the food which is best for them, and which has been provided for them by infinite grace and love, to enable them to overcome all evil?"

Meantime, after Huss had left Prague, another controversy arose, by occasion of which the antagonism to the dominant church could not fail to be still more decidedly expressed. This controversy related to a point which Huss had never as yet made a subject of particular inquiry. After his own removal, the most important theologian of his party was his friend Jacob of Misa, or Mies, a parish priest attached to the church of St. Michaels, commonly called, on account of his diminutive stature, Jacobellus. This person came out openly in opposition to the withholding of the cup from the laity; and insisted that, by the institution, the holy supper in both forms should be extended to the laity also. It was for a long time currently reported that a certain Peter, originally from Dresden, who had been driven, as an adherent to Waldensian doctrines, from his native country and come to Prague, was the original means of leading Jacobellus to introduce this point also among the matters requiring reform. This story is, in itself, extremely improbable. If we consider that, in the writings of Matthias of Janow, the necessity to the laity of a complete participation of the Lord's supper is assumed; and if we consider the great influence Matthias had on the whole movement, we shall find it impossible to believe that a man who might be a personal disciple of Matthias of Janow,* who at any rate must have been, in spirit and bent, one of his disciples, that such a man could need the influence of an unknown

* As Palacky, p. 332, note, remarks—Jacobellus, a year before the death of Matthias of Janow, in the year 1393, was a Bachelor in Prague university.

Waldensian to direct his attention to a subject which had already been deemed of so much importance by his own master. In contemporaneous writings not a word is to be found concerning this Peter of Dresden; in the controversial tracts on this subject no mention is made of him; and yet it would from the first have been hailed as a very welcome fact, by the defenders of the withdrawal of the cup, if they had the least reason whatever to trace the first attacks of this practice to the influence of a man who belonged to a sect so decried. This story is found for the first time in writings of opponents to the Hussite party some score of years later.* Whether such a person as Peter of Dresden ever existed or not, his history at all events lies altogether in the dark, and we have nothing to do with him here; but it does not admit of a question that the influence proceeded from Matthias of Janow by which Jacobellus was led, first in disputations, to come out openly, somewhere near the close of the year 1414, against the withholding of the cup. His arguments convinced many; and he began to reduce his theory to practice as a parish priest, and to distribute the holy supper once more, in both forms, to the laity. Among the adherents of Huss a controversy arose on this point; for the more practical bent of his disposition had always kept him from entering into this question. His opinion was now requested. The principle on which he uniformly went, of deciding every question by the law of Christ as laid down in holy writ, would soon bring him to a decision of this question after his attention had once been directed to it, and also to a declaration of his views; nor did he hesitate to declare them openly, though he could not but foresee that by so doing he would probably injure his own cause.† Even before his imprisonment, Huss had composed a small tract on the question then in dispute; and from the collected declarations of the New Testament and

* Thus it occurs in *Æneas Sylvius, Hist. Bohemia, cap. 35, p. 52.*

† So already, among the articles of complaint set forth by Michael de Causis, one was, that at Prague he had preached to the people that the Lord's Supper should be received in both the forms. The fact, indeed, brought forward to prove this, could prove nothing of the sort. It was that his disciples in Prague distributed the elements thus: *Patet iste articulus, quia jam in Praga sui discipuli ministrant illud sub utraque specie.* *Hist. Hussi, Opp. I. fol. 6, 1.*

of the ancient church teachers he came to the conclusion that, although both the body and blood of Christ were present under each form, yet because Christ would not without special reasons have directed that each kind should be taken *separately*, it was permitted and would be profitable to the laity, to take the blood of Christ under the form of the wine.*

Meantime, on the 21st of March, occurred that event of which we have already spoken, the flight of pope John, the immediate instrument by whom Huss had been deprived of his liberty. This event led to an important change in the situation of the prisoner. Huss perceived from what transpired immediately about him, that something of this sort had occurred. He managed to get information of the movements produced by this event in the council. He ascribed them all to one cause, that men were attempting to effect an innovation in the kingdom of God by measures of human policy. "The council," he writes, "is disturbed on account of the flight of the pope, as I believe. The reason is this: I have learned that, in whatever we undertake, God should ever be placed before human reason—a lesson which they have not learned."† The pope sent for all his officers and servants to meet him at Schaffhausen. In consequence of this, Huss was deserted by his keepers. No one was left to provide for his daily wants. He was deprived of the means of subsistence. He was in constant fear lest the marshal of the pope's court, who was intending to follow his master, would secretly take him away with himself. Late in the evening of Palm Sunday, March 24th, he communicated his fears to the knight of Chlum, and begged him, in conjunction with the Bohemian knights, to take measures to prevent this by requesting the emperor either to send him new keepers, or to set him at liberty, lest he might be to him the occasion of sin and of shame.‡ The Bohemian knights, who, previous to these events, had never

* *Licet et expedit laicis fidelibus sumere sanguinem Christi sub specie vini. Nam licet corpus et sanguis Christi sit sub utraque specie sacramentali, tamen Christus non sine ratione nec gratis instituit utrumque modum sacramentalem suis fidelibus, sed ad magnum profectum. De Sanguine Christi, Opp. I. fol. 43, 2.*

† *Ratio, quia didici, quod omnibus in factis peragendis sive peractis debet præponi Deus humanæ rationi. Ibid. fol. 75, 1; Ep. 55.*

‡ *Ne habeat et peccatum et confusionem de me. Ibid. Ep. 56.*

ceased pressing the emperor to set Huss at liberty, sought to take advantage also of the present juncture.* But the advocates of the hierarchical system exerted themselves to defeat this purpose; and after consultation with the council, the emperor delivered Huss over to the surveillance of the bishop of Constance, who at four o'clock the next morning had him removed, in chains, to the castle of Gottleben.† In the castle of Gottleben the situation of Huss was changed much for the worse. His prison was a tower. In the day-time he was chained, yet so as to be able to move about; at night on his bed, he was chained by the hand to a post. Here he no longer experienced that mild treatment from his keepers which mitigated the severity of his former imprisonment. His friends were not allowed to visit him. New attacks of disease, violent headaches, hæmorrhage, colic, followed in consequence of this severe confinement. Speaking of this in one of his later letters, he says: "These are punishments brought on me by my sins, and proofs of God's love to me."‡ In the midst of these severe trials he wrote shortly before Easter, which in this year fell on the 31st of March, to his Bohemian friends at Constance: "May the God of mercy keep and confirm you in his grace and give you constancy in Constance;§ for if we are constant we shall witness God's protection over us." "Now for the first time," he writes, "I learn rightly to understand the Psalter, rightly to pray, and rightly to represent to myself the sufferings of Christ and of the martyrs. For Isaiah says

* A letter written from Constance to one of the zealous followers of the dominant church—a portion of which has been cited from the manuscript by Palacky—shows that the hierarchical party did at the beginning undoubtedly fear that these circumstances might be taken advantage of to set Huss at liberty. The words are as follows: *De Hus fuit periculum, ne eriperetur de carceribus ordinis Prædicatorum, situati ultra muros civitatis, quia custodes jam erant pauci et remissi; sed ex diligentia facta et clamore zelatorum fidei, ex decreto concilii, præsentatus est ad quoddam castrum et ad carceres domini episcopi Constantiensis.* Palacky, III. 1, p. 339, note 448.

† When Huss, in the letter cited, says the bishop of Constance wrote him, that he would have nothing to do with him, either this must have occurred before the agreement into with the emperor, or the bishop must have been seeking to conceal the purpose which he had in view.

‡ *Opp.* I. fol. 69, 2; *Ep.* 37.

§ A play on words: *Det vobis constantiam in Constantia.*

(xxviii. 19), When brought into straits, we learn to hear—;* or, What does he know who has never struggled with temptation? Rejoice, all of you who are together in the Lord; greet one another, and seasonably prepare yourselves to partake worthily, before the passover, of the Lord's body; of which privilege, so far as it regards the sacramental participation, I am for the present deprived, and so shall continue to be as long as it is God's will. Nor ought I to wonder at this, when the apostles of Christ and many other saints, in prisons and deserts, have in like manner been deprived of the same. I am well, as I hope in Jesus Christ, and shall find myself still better after death, if I keep the commandments of God to the end." Since the council no longer recognised, as pope, Balthazar Cossa, the committee nominated under his administration had no further authority to examine into the affair of Huss, and it was necessary to appoint a new one. This was done on the 6th of April, 1415, and the new commissioners were Cardinal d'Ailly, Cardinal St. Marci, the bishop of Dola, and the abbot of the Cistercian order. Meantime the cause of Huss assumed a worse aspect on account of the distribution of the sacrament under both forms, which now commenced in Prague. This gave rise to the most injurious reports, and the whole blame had to fall upon Huss. The bishop John of Leitomyse, had made great use of these rumours to confirm the prejudice against Huss, in his report to the council—had stated that the blood of Christ was carried about by the laity in flasks, and that they gave the communion to each other. Upon this, the Bohemian knights present at Constance handed in to the council, on the 13th of May, a paper complaining in the most violent language that, contrary to all justice, and in violation of the emperor's word, Huss, without being heard, though he had ever declared himself ready to answer to the charge of heresy, had been harshly shut up in prison, where he was compelled to lie in fetters and supplied with the most wretched fare, where he had to suffer from hunger and thirst, and it was to be feared must in consequence of this harsh treatment become disordered in mind. They complained, at

* Opp. I. fol. 73; Ep. 50.

the same time, of the calumnious charges set afloat against the Bohemians to the dishonour of their nation, alluding particularly to the statements made by bishop John of Leitomyśl. The 16th of May was fixed upon as the time for acting on this matter; on which occasion bishop John of Leitomyśl defended himself against this accusation, and endeavoured to prove that he was right in proceeding as he had done against the propagators of the erroneous doctrines of Wickliff in Bohemia. The Bohemians did not suffer the remarks of the bishop to go unanswered, and once more urged it upon the council and the emperor that a free hearing should be granted to Huss. Finally they succeeded in obtaining the promise that Huss should be transferred to another prison in Constance, and that he should be allowed to speak for himself before the council on the 5th of June. The knight of Chlum announced the decree of the council to his friend on the day it was passed, the 18th of May. "This is to inform you," he wrote, "that the emperor with the deputies of all the nations of the council was this day assembled, that he spoke with them about your affairs, and in particular about granting you a hearing; and they at last declared themselves of one mind that you should obtain a public hearing; your friends moreover urged that you ought to be in a more pleasant situation, so as to be able to collect and refresh yourself." He then adds, with reference to the impending trial, "Therefore for God's sake, and for the sake of your own salvation, and for the advancement of the truth, may you never be led to swerve from that truth by any fear of losing this poor life. For it is only to promote your own true good that God has visited you with this trial." He then calls upon him, on account of the excitement which the controversy on the withdrawal of the cup had created in Bohemia, to express his opinion with regard to that matter on the same sheet, so that in due time what he had written might be shown to his friends in Bohemia. There was a difference among them on this point, and they had agreed to submit the whole to his decision. Huss replied: "As it regards collecting myself, I know not for what purpose I am to collect myself, nor what other condition of mind I should be in; for I know not to what end the hearing is to be

granted me." Doubtless he had his misgivings whether he should obtain, after all, the free hearing which he demanded; such a hearing as would allow him to express his views before the council in a sermon, or to defend himself, in the way of disputation, against the several charges—liberties which he had applied for in a petition. It was only in such a case that he could need beforehand any special collection of mind. "I hope," says he, "by the grace of God, that I shall never swerve from the truth of which I have obtained the knowledge." The impending decision of his fate by the trial before the council, could not induce him to express himself otherwise than he had already done on the question respecting the withdrawal of the cup. He referred to the paper he had before drawn up, and added: "I know of nothing else to say, than that the gospels and the epistles of Paul speak decidedly for the distribution of the Lord's supper under both the forms, and that it was so held in the primitive church. If it can be done, endeavour to bring it about, that the administration of the cup should be granted by a bull, at least to those who require it from motives of devotion, regard being had to circumstances."*

It was not until the beginning of the month of June, that Huss was liberated from his oppressive dungeon at Gottleben, where directly afterwards his place was taken by that Balthazar Cossa, who had first deprived him of his liberty. He was next conveyed to Constance, and a prison assigned to him in a Franciscan convent. Here the council assembled on the 5th of June to investigate his affair, and to hear the man himself, according as it had been promised him. Before Huss was produced, the proceedings were commenced by listening to the articles extracted by his adversaries from his writings; and they were upon the point of making a beginning *with the condemnation of these articles*. But Peter of Mladenowic, secretary to the knight of Chlum, a man enthusiastically devoted to Huss, hastened to give information of it to the knight his master, and to Wenceslaus of Duba. They speedily reported the case to the emperor, who at once sent the palgrave Louis and the burgrave

* Opp. I. fol. 72, 1; Ep. 47 et 48.

Frederic of Nuremburg to the council, directing them to tell the prelates, that before the appearance of Huss they should not take a step in his affair, and that they should in the first place lay all the erroneous articles which they found reason to charge against him before the emperor, who would take pains to have them carefully and minutely examined by pious and learned men. The two knights presented to the council the writings, from which the erroneous articles imputed to Huss were said to have been extracted, that the prelates might have it in their power to satisfy themselves whether those articles were really contained, as expressed in the charges, in his writings; requiring, however, that the same should be returned again into their hands, lest, perchance, it might be deemed right to destroy them as heretical. In fact, it was afterwards reported in many quarters that they were burned.* When Huss appeared before the council, these writings were placed before him, and he was asked whether he acknowledged them to be his. He said yes; and declared himself ready to retract every expression in them in which it could be shown that he was in error. A single article was then read. Huss began to defend it, cited many passages from Scripture, and referred to the doctrine of the church; but they exclaimed that all this was nothing to the point. Whenever he began to speak he was interrupted, and not allowed to utter a syllable. A savage outcry rose against him on all sides. At length, when Huss saw that it was of no use, that he could not be heard, he determined to remain silent. This silence was now interpreted as a confession that he was convicted. Finally, it grew to be too bad; the moderate men in the assembly could stand it no longer, and as it was impossible to restore order, it was thought best to dissolve the assembly; the 7th of June having been fixed upon as the time when Huss should have his second hearing. On the 6th of June Huss wrote to his friends: "To-morrow, at noon, I am to answer; first, whether any one of the articles extracted from my writings is erroneous,

* So Huss himself praises his friends for having made this condition: Bene factum est, quod postulaverunt, ut eis liber meus restitueretur. Nam aliqui clamabant: Comburatur, et præsertim Michael de Causis, quem audivi. Opp. I. fol. 69, 1; Ep. 36.

and whether I will pledge myself to abjure it, and henceforth teach the contrary; secondly, whether I will confess that I have preached those articles which it shall be proved on good testimony that I have preached; thirdly, whether I will abjure these. May God in his mercy so order it, that the emperor may be present to hear the words that my gracious Saviour shall be pleased to put in my mouth." He wished to have the privilege of stating his answers in writing. Had this been allowed, he would have expressed himself thus: "I, John, servant of Christ, will not declare that any of the articles extracted from my writings are false, lest I condemn the declarations of holy teachers, and particularly of St. Augustine. Secondly, I will not confess that I have asserted, preached, and believed the articles of which I am accused by false witnesses. Thirdly, I will not abjure, lest by so doing I subject myself to the guilt of perjury."* On the 7th of June then, at one o'clock, Huss appeared for the second time before the council. On this occasion, the emperor Sigismund was present, as Huss had ever desired that he should be; and owing to the hearty sympathy they took in the cause of Huss, the proceedings were also attended by the two above-mentioned Bohemian knights, and Peter of Mladenowic. The first accusation, confirmed by many witnesses, was, that Huss denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. This he could declare, with truth, to be a false charge. Cardinal d'Ailly, however, who was a zealous nominalist, engaged in an argument to show that Huss ought, according to his principles, to deny that doctrine; for as he held to the objective reality of general conceptions,† and therefore also to the *parietas a parte rei*, he could not suppose an annihilation of the same in any one case. But Huss would not allow that there was any force whatever in this reasoning, for he was of the opinion, that though the general conception might no longer be really present in a particular substance, still it did not cease on that account to retain its reality in itself,

* Opp. I. fol. 65, 2; Ep. 27.

† Huss himself explained this in the sense that general conceptions were the original forms, first created by God. *Dixi de essentia communi creata, quæ est primum esse creatum communicatum singulis creaturis.* Ibid. fol. 62, 2; Ep. 15.

and to be actualized in other particular substances.* Out of this grew a violent dispute, in which several Englishmen took part, as zealous opponents of the doctrines of Wickliff. It was insinuated that the phraseology of Huss was suspicious. It was said that, like Wickliff, he was seeking to deceive by his language, Whatever he taught *must* be heresy. The same wild outcries commenced which had interrupted the first hearing. But the emperor, who was present, commanded silence; and during the stillness which succeeded, Huss took the opportunity to exclaim with a loud voice so that all could hear: "I should have expected to find more sobriety, order, and decency prevailing in such an assembly." Said the president of the council, the cardinal archbishop John de Brogny of Ostia, addressing Huss, "At thy trial in the castle, thou showedst thyself more humble." Huss replied: "Neither was there *there* any such outcry."† Still one of the Englishmen had the justice

* His words: *Desinit quidem esse in hoc singulari pane materiali, stante tali transsubstantiatione, cum ille tunc mutatur, vel transit in corpus Christi, vel transsubstantiatur, sed nihilominus in aliis singularibus subjectatur.* Opp. I. fol. 12, 2.

† On comparing the *Historia Hussi* and the several statements in the letters of Huss, regarding his trials, there is some difficulty in determining whether this occurred on his first or his second hearing. For, we can hardly suppose that what Huss here says, and what the president of the council replies to him, occurred twice. But the account of the eye-witness in the *Historia Hussi*, who makes no mention of it at all, leaves no room for us to suppose that the above declaration of Huss was made at the first hearing; for here it is said expressly that Huss at length remained silent. And, in the letter of Huss, (Ep. 15, fol. 62, 2,) where everything is exactly related, and in all probability immediately after the hearing, what is said of the dispute concerning the doctrine of transubstantiation, can have occurred, as is evident from comparing the *Hist. H.*, only during the second hearing. But this is so nearly connected with the narrative of what Huss said, and what the president replied, that we cannot but regard it as a very arbitrary procedure, to separate the two remarks as to the time when they were made, and place one in the first, and the other in the second hearing as has been done by V. d. Hardt (IV. p. 307). It is singular that the same thing should be done also by Palacky, who is generally so exact, unless he found reason for so doing in the original record of Mladenowic, and in the Bohemian original text of the letters of Huss, which we can know nothing about. To be sure, Huss, in his letter in Mikowec's collection, (p. 22), remarks that this took place at the first hearing. But we must necessarily correct this statement, to avoid a contradiction which would otherwise occur in the letters of Huss him-

and good sense to declare, "that it was better to drop these wranglings about realism and nominalism, since they did not belong to the place, these disputes having nothing to do with the faith; and the word of Huss ought to be believed, when he said that he acknowledged transubstantiation."* Huss moreover perceived what had given occasion to the perversion of his language by his opponents regarding the doctrine of transubstantiation, when following the words of Christ he simply spoke of the fact, that Christ himself is the soul's true bread.† The dispute on the doctrine of transubstantiation having come to an end, cardinal Francis Zabarella took up the word and said to Huss, "Thou knowest, master Huss, that by the mouth of two or three witnesses every word should be established; but now as thou seest thou hast against thee the testimony of twenty men or thereabouts, men who ought to be believed, and of the highest consideration, some of whom have themselves heard thee teach, while others testify to what they have heard and to the common report. And all furnish the strongest grounds of evidence for their statements. We must therefore believe them. I see not how thou canst still maintain thy cause against so many distinguished men." To this Huss replied: "But I call God and my conscience to witness that I have not so taught, and that it never entered my mind so to teach as these persons have the hardihood to say that I have, testifying against me what they never heard. Were there a great many more still, I esteem the testimony of my God and of my conscience higher than the judgments of all my adversaries, about which I do not trouble myself." The cardinal answered:‡ "We cannot judge by thy conscience, but

self, by the earlier and more exact account; for this last letter was written on the 26th of June.

* The words of the Englishman are: *Quorsum hæc de universalibus disputatio, quæ ad fidem nihil facit? Ipse, quantum audio, recte sentit de sacramento altaris. Opp. I. fol. 12, 2.*

† Huss himself says at his trial: *Cæterum hoc se fateri, cum archiepiscopus Pragensis omnino prohibuisset uti illo termino panis, tunc se hoc edictum episcopi non potuisse probare, quia Christus ipse in VI. cap. Joann. undecies se nominaverit panem angelorum, qui de cælo descendisset, ut toti mundo vitam daret, sed de pane materiali se nunquam dixisse. Ibid.*

‡ [According to the marginal note in the *Historia Joann. Hus*, fol.

must be content with the very firm and confident testimony of these men. For not from any hatred or enmity to thee, as thou affirmest, do they offer this testimony, but they give such reasons as betray no sign of hatred, and leave us no room to doubt."* So strongly biassed is the cardinal, that he cannot or will not see the trace of a spiteful distortion of the words of Huss, even in Paletz, but believes that Huss wrongs him altogether, and that if Paletz had altered the words of Huss, he had altered them into a still milder sense than they had in their original connection. Besides, he felt particularly annoyed that Huss should presume to cast suspicion on chancellor Gerson, than whom a more excellent man was not to be found in all Christendom. The next accusation was that Huss had obstinately defended the heretical doctrines of Wickliff. Huss replied, that he had taught neither the errors of Wickliff, nor those of any other man. If Wickliff had taught errors in England, this was the concern of the English. But his resistance to the condemnation of the forty-five articles of Wickliff was adduced in proof of the charge that he defended his doctrines, to which he replied: The *form* in which those articles were all unconditionally condemned was one to which his conscience would not permit him to assent; but in particular he could not consent to the condemnation of the article that Constantine had erred in making that dotation, and Sylvester in accepting it. The article and also the proposition of which we have spoken on a former page, that a priest chargeable with mortal sin could not baptize nor consecrate the Lord's supper, he modified by saying that such an one did it in an unworthy manner, and was but an unworthy minister of the sacraments; and in spite of all the contradictions of his opponents, he asserted that in no other sense was the article to be found in his writings; and he proved this against Paletz to ocular inspection by comparing the propositions ascribed to him with his book which was produced. Furthermore he frankly acknowledged that he had not dared to agree in condemning the

13, 1, and perhaps also according to the words themselves, the cardinal here, and in what follows, is not Zabarella the Cardinalio Florentinus, but Peter d'Ailly the Cardinalis Cameracensis.]

* Opp. I. fol. 13, 1.

article which affirmed that tythes were to be considered as alms. Cardinal Zabarella now argued to refute him. He said that "it belonged to the nature of an alms that it should be given voluntarily, and not by obligation; but the paying of tythes was founded on an obligation. Zabarella went on the principles of ecclesiastical law; but Huss proceeded only on ethical principles; hence he could not admit the premises in Zabarella's argument, for he maintained that almsgiving, too, was a matter of moral obligation. Men were bound, on pain of damnation, to observe those six works of mercy which Christ mentions in Matt. xxv. 35, 36; and yet these are alms. It was a part of the scholastic sophistry of those times, for parties to engage in dispute without taking any pains first to settle with each other the different meaning of terms. Next an English archbishop displayed the subtlety of his logic by the following argument against Huss: From this it would follow that the poor, who cannot give alms for want of means, must be damned. Huss replied: That he spoke only of those that had the means. And he went on to assert that the tenths had, in the beginning, been an entirely voluntary thing; and were not made obligatory until a long time afterwards. This he proposed to show more at large, but was not permitted. Huss then said that, in general, all he had ever demanded was, that proofs should be drawn from holy Scripture to justify the condemnation of the propositions of Wickliff which were to be condemned. He entered into a full, calm, and sober account of the whole course of the disputes on the writings of Wickliff and of his own personal concern in the matter,* until the time of his appeal to Christ. The question was then put to him whether the pope, then, had given him leave to break away from his own jurisdiction and appeal to another tribunal;† and whether it was permitted to appeal to

* Which account we have already availed ourselves of in the preceding narrative.

† The words: *Habueritne absolutionem?* These words may indeed also mean: Has been absolved by the pope? Yet the connection is in favour of the interpretation which I have given in the text; so that the question relates to an *ἀπολύτικον* on the part of the pope, or of the so-called apostoli; and this besides is altogether characteristic of the positive spirit of his judges.

Christ? To this Huss replied: "This I openly maintain, before you all, that there is not a more just nor a more effectual appeal than the appeal to Christ; for to appeal means, according to law, nothing but this: in a case of oppression, from an inferior judge to invoke the aid of a higher one. And now what higher judge is there than Christ? Who can get at the truth of a cause in a more righteous and truthful manner than he? for he cannot be deceived, neither can he err. Who can more easily afford help to the poor and oppressed?" But this was language which the council could not understand; and it was received with laughter and scorn. Furthermore, it was charged against him, that, to introduce his heresies among the unlearned and simple, he had given an exaggerated account of the doings at that notorious earthquake council,* and represented it as a judgment of God in favour of Wickliff;† that he had said, as we have observed on a former page, he wished his soul to be where Wickliff's soul was. In reply to the first, Huss said nothing, and it may perhaps have been true; nor would it be anything strange that one so favourably inclined to Wickliff and so biassed against his opponents should hold such a story to be true, and look upon the whole thing as a judgment of God. With regard to the second, Huss said‡ he did not deny that, twelve years before the *theological* writings of Wickliff were known in Bohemia, he had made himself familiar with some of that writer's philosophical writings which greatly pleased him; and as he had been informed on good authority of the uprightness of Wickliff's life, so he had let

* See above, page 233.

† Illico ostium ecclesie fulmine ruptum est, ita ut adversarii Wicleff ægre sine incommodo evaserint. Opp. I. fol. 14, 1. As such facts, especially in the contests between parties, are very apt to be represented in an exaggerated manner in tradition according to the passions of the particular individuals, so it is quite possible that the story in the present case was somewhat exaggerated as it was told among the Wickliffites.

‡ We have already on a former page found it probable that Huss had first been led to think favourably of Wickliff by his intimacy with the philosophical writings of the latter relating to the general controversy between the realists and the nominalists. But in respect to the exact number of years, Huss might easily be mistaken at such a trial.

fall the words: "I hope John Wickliff is in heaven. But although I did entertain the fear that he might be damned, yet I could still express the hope that my soul might be where the soul of Wickliff was." Again, these words of Huss, uttered with his peculiar conscientiousness, and in entire consistency with his views of the doctrines of absolute predestination and subjective justification, were received with derision. It was objected to him, again, that he had invited the people, by the posting up of public notices, to resort to the sword against their adversaries. But he could appeal to it as a fact, that he had spoken in his sermons only of spiritual weapons; and, aware of the disposition among some to pervert his words, had taken special pains to point out that he was not speaking of a fleshly but of the spiritual sword. He was, moreover, accused of having fomented schism in Bohemia between the spiritual and the secular power, and caused the expulsion of the Germans from the university of Prague. He vindicated himself from this charge, by giving the true account of the whole course of the affair, as we have stated it on a former page. Paletz alleged against Huss that not only Germans but Bohemians were banished. But Huss could prove that this had occurred during his absence. For as we have seen before, he certainly was not present at Prague when those men of the theological faculty were banished. One thing characteristic of these disputes was the pains taken to raise suspicions against the sayings and doctrines of Huss in a political point of view, and thus to excite against him the prejudices of the ruling powers. So we may interpret d'Ailly when, speaking loud enough to be heard by the emperor, he said to Huss: "When you were first brought before us, I heard you say* that if you had not proposed of your own accord to come to Constance, neither the emperor nor the king of Bohemia could have compelled you to come." Thereupon Huss said his language had been this: "If he had not been disposed to come there of his own accord, so many of the knights in Bohemia were his friends that he might easily have remained at

* Which may have probably occurred when Huss first appeared before the pope and the cardinals.

home in some safe place of concealment, so that he never could have been forced to come there by the will of those two princes. At this, cardinal d'Ailly exclaimed, in an angry tone: "Mark the impudence of the man!" And a murmur of disapprobation arising, the noble knight of Chlum spoke out in confirmation of what Huss had said; "Compared with other knights," said he, "I have but little power in Bohemia; yet I could protect him, for a whole year, against all the power of these two sovereigns. How much more could be done by others, who are more powerful than I, and hold the stronger castles!" After these words of the knight, d'Ailly was not disposed to go any further into this matter, but said to Huss: "I advise you to submit, according to your promise while in prison,* to the sentence of the council. By so doing you will provide best both for your welfare and your honour." Taking up the remark of d'Ailly, the emperor said: Though it was reported that Huss had not received his safe-conduct from the emperor till fourteen days after his imprisonment,† the emperor could prove, by the testimony of many princes and persons of rank, that he had received the safe-conduct before leaving Prague, from the hands of the knights Wenceslaus of Duba and John of Chlum,‡ and full liberty was secured to him of defending himself and giving an account of his faith before the council; and this promise had been well fulfilled by the prelates, for which the emperor had all reason to thank them; although many said the emperor did wrong in granting protection to a man who was a heretic, or suspected of heresy. The emperor, therefore, would now give Huss the same advice with Cardinal d'Ailly. Let him defend nothing obstinately; but with regard to all that was brought against him, and had been confirmed by credible witnesses, let him submit, with becoming obedience, to the authority of the council. If he

* Without doubt in reference to that conditionally understood submission; the implied condition, however, being ignored.

† It appears, accordingly, that many sought to excuse the imprisonment of Huss by asserting that his safe-conduct did not arrive till after that had taken place.

‡ Which, to be sure, is at variance with the statement of Huss himself, (see above), that he set out on his journey *without* a safe-conduct.

did this, the emperor would see to it that, for his own sake and for the sake of his brother Wenceslaus and of the whole Bohemian empire, he should be dealt with by the council in a lenient manner, and let off with a slight penance and satisfaction; if not, the leaders of the council would know what they had to do with him; the emperor would never undertake to protect his errors; he would sooner prepare the faggots for him with his own hands than suffer him to go on any longer with the same obstinacy as before. To this Huss replied: "In the first place I thank your majesty for the safe-conduct." And as he was now invited and charged by the knight of Chlum to defend himself against the reproach of obstinacy, which had been cast upon him, he said: "I call God himself to witness that it never entered my thoughts to defend anything obstinately, and that I came here voluntarily and of my own accord with the purpose of changing my opinion without any hesitation, if I should be taught better." Huss was then placed under the care of the bishop of Riga and conducted back to his prison. The same day Huss wrote to his friends in Constance, respecting this examination: "The Almighty God gave me to-day a strong and courageous heart. Two of the articles of complaint against me have been abandoned. I now hope, by the grace of God, that several others besides will be abandoned. They cry out, nearly all of them, like the Jews against our Master Christ." He says that, among the whole multitude of the clergy he had not a single friend except one Pole whom he knew, and the father. By the father is probably meant that remarkable secret friend of Huss, who subsequently was so active in endeavouring to bring about a compromise between him and the council, and of whom we shall have occasion to say more hereafter. "Oh," he wrote, "if a hearing were granted me, in which I could reply to such arguments as they might bring against the articles contained in my treatises; then, believe I, would many of those who cry out, be compelled to be dumb. As God in heaven wills, so let it be."* Again Huss wrote: Let all the Bohemian knights apply to the emperor and council, and demand that as the emperor and

* Opp. I. fol. 69, 2; Ep. 36.

council had promised, he might in the next audience briefly state what he had to retract, at the same time giving his explanations.* Thus the emperor and council would fulfil this promise too, as they might be forced to do if held to their own words. "I will then speak out," he writes, "the truth without reserve; for rather would I be consumed by the faggots, than kept so miserably concealed by them; for then all Christendom would learn what I finally said." To Chlum, whom he called his most trusty patron, he wrote: "May God be your rewarder! I desire that you would not leave the council till you have seen the end." "Oh," says he, "much would I prefer that you should see me led to the stake, than that I should be so treacherously kept in the dark. I still have hopes that Almighty God, through the merit of the saints, may deliver me out of their hands." He begged his friends to let him know when, on the next morning, he should be led forth to trial. He desired them all to pray for him that if he must await death in prison, he might be endued with patience. He lamented that he had not been able to repay many of them for their services, and sent to request that they would be content, and excuse him on the ground of his want of ability. He knew not who was to repay those who had lent him money in Bohemia, unless it were the Master Christ, on whose account they had lent it to him. Still he expresses the wish that some of the more wealthy would settle up his affairs and pay his poorer creditors.

On the 8th of June, Huss was conducted to his third examination. The articles of charge were read over in their regular order, together with the answers which he had given to them at his private examinations in prison. They were more particularly articles said to have been extracted from his book *De Ecclesia*. With regard to some of them Huss acknowledged that the assertions imputed to him were his, and added a few words, either to establish them, or to guard them against misapprehension; but with regard to the majority of them, he did nothing of the sort, being confident of proving either that they were not

* We should from these words of Huss complete, therefore, the account of what occurred in this second hearing, and seems to have been left out in the report of Mladenowic.

contained in his writings, or that they were altered by being rent from their connection or purposely misconstrued. We may notice, in particular, the fifth article, relative to his doctrine concerning the church, which we have already explained, and which stood closely connected with his doctrine of predestination. He was reported to say, that dignity, choice of man, visible signs, made no one a member of the church. Huss while in prison had acknowledged this assertion to be one contained in his book; and in confirmation of its truth had added: All depends here on defining what is meant by being in the church and a member of the church; and this depends on predestination. Predestination was the divine counsel, whereby grace was prepared for men in this life, and glory in the future life. Distinctions of rank, human choice, visible signs, did nothing of this kind. Judas Iscariot, notwithstanding he was chosen by Christ, notwithstanding the temporal gifts of grace which he received, and notwithstanding the opinion which the multitude had of him, was no true disciple of Christ, but a wolf in sheep's clothing. His assertion that no "*præscitus*" was a member of the church, he proved by many authorities from Bernard and Augustin. Furthermore, the tenth article: "If he who is called the vicar of Christ copies after his life, he is his vicar; but, if he takes the opposite course, he is a messenger of Antichrist, stands in contradiction with Peter and Christ, and is a vicar of Judas Iscariot." Huss confirmed this proposition, citing it as it really stood in his books, and in confirming it, referred to a passage from Bernard's work *De Consideratione*. When this was read, the prelates looked at each other, shook their heads, and laughed. The twelfth article was—that the papal dignity took its origin from the Roman emperors. Huss added, in confirmation of this, that the emperor Constantine conferred this dignity on the bishop of Rome, and it was afterwards confirmed by the other emperors; that, as the emperor was the first among princes, the pope was the first among bishops, in reference, namely, to earthly honour and earthly goods. Yet the papal dignity had its origin directly from Christ, so far as it regarded the *spiritual* dignity, and the call to the spiritual guidance of the church.

Cardinal d'Ailly, in opposing this, appealed to the sixth canon of the council of Nice, according to the common interpretation; and asked Huss why he had not derived this rather from the decree of the council than from the emperor. But Huss stood firm to his assertion, that the dignity was first derived from the gift of Constantine. The 22nd article related to the important principle, important in reference to ethics laid down by Augustin in opposition to Pelagianism, that in moral judgments everything depends on the intention, the *intentio oculus animi*; hence the opposition generally between the godlike and the ungodlike life:—the state of grace where everything is determined by the same fundamental relation to the temper; the general bent of the life is one well-pleasing to God; every natural affection is ennobled, and the man whether he eat or drink does everything to the glory of God; or the opposite temper of alienation from God,—the ground-tone of the life is either love or selfishness. Now, while Huss had, with Augustin and Jovinian, given prominence to the unmediated antithesis alone, as grounded in the idea or the principle, d'Ailly, on the other hand, held to the empirical view, and considered the Christian as he actually appears, with the sinful element still cleaving to him; and in opposition to Huss he remarked: "Yet holy Scripture says we all sin;" and adverting to the words, 1 John i. 8, he said: "So then it would follow from this that we sin *continually*." To this Huss replied: "Holy Scripture speaks, in such places, of remissible sins, which the moral temper at bottom does not quite exclude from the man,* but which may perhaps exist along with it." The article was read of which we have already spoken on a former page, that whenever a king, pope, bishop, lay under a mortal sin, he was neither king,† pope, nor bishop. Huss had, in his answer, explained this as meaning that such a person was not so in a *worthy* manner, in the sight of God. But in so doing, he had expressly taken care not to deny the objective validity of any sacramental act performed by such a prelate; such a person was only an *unworthy* minister

* Quæ non expellunt habitum virtutis ab homine. Fol. 18, 1.

† In reference to this he appeals to 1 Sam. xv. 11.

of the sacraments, through whom Christ *himself* baptized and consecrated. At the time this was read, the emperor stood by a window, and by him the palgrave Louis and the burgrave Frederic of Nuremburg; and, after much conversation about Huss, he said: "There was never a more mischievous heretic." On these words being read, which torn from their connection might be interpreted as tending to the overthrow of all civil power and order, the emperor's attention was called to them, and he caused them to be repeated. And this too doubtless made an impression on the emperor. He said: "Yet no man living is without sin." But cardinal d'Ailly exclaimed indignantly to Huss: "Did it not satisfy thee that thou soughtest by thy writings and discourses to bring into contempt and to overthrow the spiritual order; wilt thou now seek also to push kings from their thrones?" Then a disputation arose between Paletz and Huss, turning on this: that in the explication of conceptions objective and subjective, worthiness conditioned on moral qualities, and lawfully-existing orders independent of these qualities, were not duly distinguished; for which Huss had really given occasion enough in the way in which he had stated the distinction. If Huss, instead of merely holding fast to what he had paradoxically expressed, had in his answer explained the matter with more clearness and precision, he would thereby have guarded against many a falsely-reasoned conclusion, which proved injurious to his cause. Paletz, for example, observed, with regard to a case cited by Huss, that Saul was nevertheless king, though he had heard those words of Samuel; and David, too, had prevented the slaying of Saul, not on account of the holiness of Saul's life, a quality in which he was utterly deficient, but on account of the holiness that proceeded from his anointing. And when Huss cited a passage from Cyprian to the effect that he was falsely called a Christian who did not follow Christ in his daily walk, Paletz replied: "Mark the simplicity of the man, who quotes what has nothing to do with the subject. For, suppose one not to be truly a Christian, is he therefore not truly a pope, bishop, or king? for these latter are names of office, but the term Christian is a designation of character. And accordingly one may be truly

a pope, bishop, or king without being a true Christian." Thereupon Huss answered: "Then if John was a true pope, why have you deposed him from his office?" Here the emperor struck in: "The council has lately declared that John was a true pope; but on account of the crimes by which he soiled the papal dignity, and on account of his squandering away the property of the church, they have deposed him." A passage being now cited which was pointed directly against the lawfulness of the condemnation of the forty-five propositions of Wickliff, cardinal d'Ailly exclaimed: "But thou hast said thou wouldst not defend any of the propositions of Wickliff; yet it now appears from thy writings thou hast openly defended his propositions." Huss replied: "I say the same that I said before, that I will defend the errors neither of Wickliff nor of any other man. But because it seemed contrary to my conscience to consent unconditionally to their condemnation, where no reason was produced for it from Scripture, I was unwilling to join in condemning them; and because the different qualifications introduced would not suit all the different propositions." When the article was read which denied the necessity of a visible head to the church, where the words occurred that Christ would guide the church better without such monsters of supreme heads, by means of his true disciples scattered through all the world, the prelates said: "Mark, he now puts on the prophet!" In confirmation of what he had said, Huss now added: "Yes, I say it, that the church under the apostles was infinitely better governed than it is at the present time. And what hinders that Christ should not better govern by his *true* disciples, without such monsters of supreme heads as they now are? And mark, we have no such supreme head at present, and yet Christ does not cease to govern his church." This remark also excited a laugh. Again, among the articles was one in which, in certain cases, the right was conceded to laymen of passing judgment on the acts of prelates. Next came the article which accused Huss of having said that he was going to Constance; and if for any cause whatever he should recant anything he had previously taught, he thought he never could do it from honest conviction, because all he had taught was in conformity

with the true and sound doctrine of Christ. Huss could only declare that all this was pure fabrication; and doubtless he intimated that a letter which he had written to his community at Prague probably gave occasion to the calumny.* Among the articles now brought forward against Huss, were to be found those also which originated with chancellor Gerson, and which had already been laid before Huss in prison. To Gerson, Huss could not appear otherwise than as a heretic, since he refused to acknowledge the immutable and divine right of the hierarchy, and since to him he seemed to invite the people to rebellion against the church. He had already, in the year 1414, called upon Conrad of Vechta to see to it that the heresies of Huss should be punished by the secular power. On these points, he was still wholly entangled in the old ecclesiastical law. The civil magistracy seemed to him called and bound to punish heretics like other transgressors, and so render them harmless. "Miracles," so Gerson thought, "ought not to be required for the confirmation of the ancient church doctrines; the authority of councils, the utterances of all the church teachers, were sufficient. To these common authorities every individual should submit his private judgment. He who hears not this voice, would not hear though one should rise from the dead." So he interprets Christ's words in the parable of Lazarus. "It only remains, then," he proceeds, "to employ the secular sword against those who will not hear the voice of the church."† Gerson's articles against Huss related to the notion of the church, the definition of it as the community of the elect, the denial of the necessity of a visible head, the way in which Huss seemed to have made the dignity of the pope, the king, &c., depend on the subjective worth of the individual. In what sense Huss intended this to be understood, Gerson does not stop to inquire. Such propositions, without further explanation, were easily liable, as we have seen, to be interpreted as countenancing revolution; for example,

* Thus he complains above, that this letter had fallen into the hands of his enemies, and that many statements in it had been falsified and distorted.

† Extracts from the letter of Gerson, in Du Boulay, *Hist. Univ. Paris*, V. 269.

the proposition that no *præscitus* belonged to the church, no man who did not follow the life of Christ; that whoever led a good life, after the pattern of Christ, should publicly teach and preach, even though not empowered so to do by his ecclesiastical superiors; nay, even though he were prohibited by them, or though they pronounced him under the ban; just as he could and must give alms; because that calling which is founded on a good life and knowledge was sufficient. In reference to the assertion that no *præscitus* was a true pope, bishop, king, &c., Gerson remarked: "To maintain such an error is madness; it is insurrectionary, leading to the overthrow of every civil constitution; because no one knows whether he belongs to the number of the elect or the reprobate (a doctrine in which, as we have seen, Huss agreed with Gerson), and because we all offend in many parts of our duty. All government would be an unsettled, uncertain thing, were it made to depend on the fact that he who exercised it belonged among the elect and had attained to the position of Christian love. And Peter must have been wrong in enjoining it on servants to be obedient even to bad masters. The university of Paris, in their declaration drawn up by Gerson, where they invite the council to the extirpation of mischievous errors, added: "Though in these propositions we may recognise a certain zeal against the vices of the clergy, which to our sorrow we must confess have gotten too much the upper hand, yet it is not a zeal joined with knowledge. A prudent zeal tolerates while it sighs over the sins which it observes in the house of God but cannot destroy. The evil spirits, however, will not be driven out by Beelzebub, but only by the finger of God, which is the Holy Ghost." The want of Christian prudence is objected to Huss.* When now all the charges had been brought

* The pain and indignation manifested by Huss at these particular articles of Gerson, which were laid before him while in prison, are well worthy of remark. It may, perhaps, be accounted for from the fact, that he was conscious of being so very far from intending any of those practically mischievous consequences which Gerson deduced from his doctrines, and yet must see that there might be some reason for apprehending them in the form in which he had expressed these propositions. Hence may have arisen in him the wish to have an opportunity of replying to Gerson in writing, so as to present his doctrines in their

forward, cardinal d'Ailly said to Huss: "Thou hast heard how many and what abominable charges are brought against thee. Therefore it is thy duty to consider what thou intendest to do. Two ways are proposed to thee by the council, of which thou must needs choose one. First, that thou shouldest submit thyself suppliantly to the judgment of the council, and bear without murmuring whatever it may please to ordain. If that is done, we shall, out of regard to the two sovereigns and from our desire for thy welfare, proceed against thee with all gentleness and humanity. But if thou still proposest to defend some of the articles which have now been laid before us, and demandest to be heard still further, we shall not deny thee this privilege. But thou must bear in mind that there are here men of so much weight and so much knowledge, that have so well settled and strong reasons against thy articles, that I fear it will redound to thy great injury, to thy great danger if thou undertakest to defend them yet longer. I speak this in the way of exhortation, and not as thy judge." Others, taking up these words of d'Ailly, exhorted Huss, each after his own fashion. He answered, with a profound expression of humility: "Reverend fathers! I have already often said that I came here voluntarily, not for the purpose of defending anything obstinately, but of cheerfully submitting to be taught better if in anything I have erred. I beg, therefore, that opportunity may be allowed me to explain my opinions further. And if I do not adduce good and true reasons for them, then I will gladly, as you require, submit to be instructed by you." Here some one said aloud: "Mark how cunningly he speaks! He says 'instructed,' not 'corrected,' not 'decided.'" "Nay, as

true sense, to confirm them by their agreement with Augustin, and to guard them against being so understood as to lead to the consequences which had been drawn from them. In the letter already quoted, written before Easter, he remarks in reference to the articles of complaint brought against him by Gerson: Oh that God would grant me time to write against the falsehoods of the Parisian chancellor, who was not afraid to accuse his neighbour of error so insolently and so unjustly before so vast a multitude. But, perhaps, God will interrupt the writing by his death or my own, and better decide the cause before his tribunal than I could do by any writings of mine. Opp. fol. 73, 2; Ep. 50. Compare also the passages quoted on preceding pages.

you please," rejoined Huss, "let it be instruction, correction, or decision; for I call God to witness that I speak nothing but from the heart." "Then," said d'Ailly, taking Huss at his word, yet overlooking the condition which was ever present to his mind, "since thou dost submit thyself to the instruction and mercy of the council, know that this has been resolved upon by near sixty doctors, of whom some have already gone away, whose places have been taken by the Parisians; and it has been confirmed unanimously by the council: First, that thou humbly declarest that thou didst err in those articles that have been produced against thee; next, that thou promisest, on thy oath, neither to hold nor to teach such opinions any longer; thirdly, that thou dost publicly recant all those articles." When many had spoken much to the same purpose, Huss finally said: "I repeat, that I am ready to be instructed by the council; but I beseech and conjure you by him who is the God of us all, that you do not force me to what I cannot do without contradicting my conscience, and without danger of eternal damnation, that you do not force me to renounce upon my oath, all the articles which have been brought against me. For I know that to abjure means to renounce a previously cherished error. As now many articles have been imputed to me, which to hold or to teach never entered my thoughts, how can I renounce them by an oath? But as regards those articles which really belong to me, I will cheerfully do what you require, if any one can persuade me to another opinion." Upon this, the emperor said: "Why mayest thou not, with good conscience, renounce all that has been charged upon thee by false witnesses? I do not hesitate to abjure all possible errors; yet from this it by no means follows that I have ever *taught* such errors." Huss replied: "Most gracious emperor! the word *abjure* means something different from that which your majesty expresses by it." And cardinal Zabarella here remarked: "There will be handed thee a tolerably mild form of abjuration; and then thou canst easily make up thy mind whether thou wilt make it or not." We shall be able, perhaps, hereafter to find some clue to the form of recantation which the cardinal had in mind; and this will lead us to divine a remarkable secret

connection in the train of events. The emperor then spoke again, repeating the language of d'Ailly : "Thou hast heard that two ways are proposed to thee,—first that thou shouldst publicly renounce those doctrines which have now been publicly condemned, and submit thyself to the judgment of the council ; which if thou doest, thou wilt experience the mercy of the council. But if thou dost persist in defending thy opinions, the council will no doubt understand how to deal with thee according to the laws." Huss now said to the emperor : "Most gracious emperor, I make no resistance to anything the council may decide with regard to me, I except but one thing—doing wrong to God and to my own conscience, and saying that I have taught errors which never entered into my thoughts. But I entreat that liberty may be granted me from you to explain my opinions still farther, so as to give a sufficient answer to some things objected to me ; namely, concerning the offices of the church." But the same that had already been said was repeated by others and by the emperor. "Thou art old enough," said the emperor, "and canst not fail to understand what I said to thee yesterday and to-day. We cannot do otherwise than believe trustworthy witnesses. If, according to Scripture, by two or three witnesses every word shall be established, how much more shall this hold good where the witnesses are so many and so great men ! If, then, thou art reasonable, thou wilt accept with contrite heart the penance appointed thee by the council, and renounce manifest errors, and promise on thy oath never to hold forth the like for the future ; if not, there are laws according to which thou wilt be judged by the council." One of the prelates now spoke and said, We ought not to believe even the recantation of Huss, since he had written that though he recanted he would reserve his private conviction.* Huss stood firmly to his earlier declaration. Paletz was for showing that Huss contradicted himself, in protesting that he defended no error, and no error of Wickliff, while however in his discourses and writings he defended errors of Wickliff ; if he denied this,

* See what Huss says in the letter already quoted concerning this perversion of his language.

such writings of his could be laid before the council. The same was said by the emperor; and to this Huss replied: "Gladly would I have it done; and could wish that not these merely, but other books of mine might be laid before the council." Several other charges connected with the Hussite movements in Prague were then laid against Huss. We will repeat none of these, as we have already spoken of the same matters in narrating the events themselves. One thing only needs to be mentioned, as serving to give us a clearer insight into the character of the proceedings against Huss, to show how no means were left untried to procure his condemnation, and what presence of mind, what power of faith the man must have possessed; what resolution, what summoning of every energy was required on his part when, after having suffered so long and so severe an imprisonment, where he had passed through so much sickness and experienced so much that must have grieved and depressed his spirits, and after having been kept awake through the whole preceding night by tooth-ache, he was compelled, in that long trial, to reply to such an unimaginable variety of attacks and surmises from so many different quarters. At this time, after all the charges had been brought against Huss, Paletz had the effrontery to step forward and say: "I call God to witness, in presence of the emperor and of all the prelates here assembled, that in these complaints against Huss I have been actuated by no hatred, no ill will towards him; I have only felt bound to the due discharge of my doctor's oath." The same said Michael de Causis. Hereupon Huss declared: "But I commend all this to our Father in heaven, who will righteously judge the cause of both parties." And cardinal d'Ailly was biassed enough by the interests of the church party to express, as he had before done, his admiration of the mildness of Paletz, who he said might have cited things a great deal worse than he had done from the writings of Huss. But when Huss, worn down and completely exhausted, was led back to his prison, the noble-hearted knight of Chlum hastened to visit him, under the full influence of the impression made by his appearance and defence of himself, and seizing his hand pressed it in a way which must have told more than words.

Huss himself describes the effect which this testimony of friendship, made at such a time, produced on his mind: "Oh, what joy did I feel," he writes, "from the pressure of my lord John's hand, which he was not ashamed to give me, the wretched outcast heretic, in my chains!"*

As regards the further proceedings of the council in this affair of Huss, it remains for us to say, that the emperor, after the defendant had been removed, made a proposition to the council, declaring to them, that Huss, as had been clearly proved by many witnesses, had taught so many pernicious heresies, that he deserved, in his judgment, and for some of them singly, to perish at the stake; but though he should recant, he never should be allowed to preach or to teach again, nor permitted to return to Bohemia; for, owing to the great number of his adherents in that country, it would be easy for him to excite anew still more violent commotions, and the evil would only grow worse. The emperor, furthermore, advised that those doctrines of Huss, on which the council had pronounced sentence of condemnation, should be made known throughout Bohemia, Poland, and other countries, where those heresies had found admittance; and that the spiritual and secular powers in those lands should be called upon to coöperate in bringing to punishment those who taught such doctrines. Severe measures, also, should be taken against the adherents of the Hussite doctrines, who were to be found in Constance. As we have already said, several persons in the council, seizing upon those words of Huss, in which he humbly professed himself ready to be instructed and to recant, without taking them in his own sense with the condition which he presupposed, were led to entertain the hope, that Huss might yet be persuaded to recant: and for this reason the final decision of his fate was put off, and several attempts were made to persuade him to recantation. But even in this case it was thought not advisable, and the emperor himself had expressed the same opinion, that he should be restored to full liberty. Not without reason, it was supposed that Huss would still never deviate from the main direction which he had always taken. The

* Opp. I. fol. 68, 2; Ep. 33.

council had drawn up a resolution with regard to Huss in case he should recant, by which little more was granted him than barely permission to live. It ran as follows : Since it is evident, on the ground of certain conjectures and outward signs, that Huss repents of the sins he has committed, and is disposed to return with upright heart to the truth of the church, therefore the council grants, with pleasure, that he may abjure and recant his heresies, and the heresies of Wickliff, as he voluntarily offers to do, and as he himself begs the council to release him from the ban which had been pronounced on him ; so he is hereby released. But inasmuch as many disturbances and much scandal among the people have arisen from these heresies, and inasmuch as great danger has accrued to the church by reason of his contempt of the power of the keys, therefore the council decrees, that he must be deposed from the priestly office, and from all other offices. The care of seeing to the execution of this decree is assigned to several bishops at the council, and Huss was to be condemned to imprisonment during life in some place appointed for that purpose.*

Huss himself was entirely ignorant of these transactions within the council ; and being resolved not to recant till convinced of his errors, after what he had heard expressed at the council, he had nothing else in prospect but the stake, and nothing to wait for but the decision of his fate. Accordingly, with these expectations, he wrote, on the 10th of June, a letter to Bohemia, which he addressed to persons of all conditions, rich and poor, men and women. He exhorts them, in the first place, faithfully to adhere to the truth which he had always set before them from the law of God ; but, if anything had ever been uttered or written by him contrary to divine truth, he entreated them not to follow him in that thing. Furthermore, if any person had ever observed any lightness in his words or his actions, he begged such person not to lay it up, but pray God the Lord, that he would forgive him for it. He gives them admonitions suited to every condition ; to the knights, burghers, and artisans ; to masters and students. He re-

* V. d. Hardt, IV. pp. 432 and 433.

commends to them the knights who had so faithfully stood by him at the council of Constance: who had spoken with such boldness and energy for his cause and for his liberation, and particularly Wenzel of Duba, and John of Chlum. These would furnish them the most reliable information with regard to all the proceedings. He ends and subscribes the letter as follows: "I write this letter in prison and in chains, expecting on the morrow to receive my sentence of death, full of hope in God, that I shall not swerve from the truth, nor abjure errors imputed to me by false witnesses. What a gracious God has wrought in me, and how he stands by me in wonderful trials, all this you will first understand when we shall again meet together, with our Lord God, through his grace, in eternal joy." He moreover commends to the people of Prague the care of Bethlehem Church, against which the fury of Satan had been particularly directed, because from it especially had gone both the destruction of his kingdom, and the building up of the kingdom of God. He expresses the wish that God would send them a man as his successor, who would be a still more powerful preacher of gospel truth.* As there was now some delay in bringing the affair to a conclusion, new hopes might spring up in the mind of Huss; accordingly he wrote in one of his letters: "Our Saviour called to life Lazarus, after he had lain four days in the grave, and had on him the smell of corruption; preserved Jonah three days in the belly of the fish and sent him back again to preach; called forth Daniel from the den of lions to record the prophecies; kept from the flames the three men in the fiery furnace; liberated Susannah, when already condemned to death: therefore he could easily deliver me too, poor mortal, if it served to promote *his own* glory, the advancement of the faithful, and my own best good, for this time, from prison and from death. For *his* hand is not shortened, who by his angel led Peter, the chains falling from his hands, from the dungeon, when condemned already to die at Jerusalem. But ever let the will of the Lord be done, which I desire may be fulfilled in me to his glory and to my own purification from sin." †

* Mikowec, Letter 8.

† Opp. I. fol. 68, 1; Ep. 32.

He concludes a letter written on the 26th of June with the following words : " This letter is written in prison and in chains, while I am expecting death. Yet in view of the unsearchable ways of God, I dare not say that this letter is my last. The Almighty God still lives ; he can deliver me." * Of course his trial before the council had not answered his wishes nor his expectations. It was not the saving of his life about which he was chiefly anxious, but his most ardent desire was to have a trial from the council, with liberty to express himself freely and without being disturbed, on his doctrines and principles. This he still continually sought to obtain from the emperor, through the medium of his Bohemian friends. Accordingly he writes to his friends : " I still beg for God's sake, that all the nobles would unite in petitioning the emperor to allow me a *final* hearing." He interpreted that such a trial should be granted him, from the words addressed to him by the emperor at the second hearing, and added : " It must rebound greatly to the emperor's dishonour, if those words shall not be fulfilled. But I think his words are about as much to be relied on as his safe-conduct." † Finding himself disappointed in this hope, he wrote to the Bohemian knights : " Trust not in princes, and the sons of men with whom there is no salvation, because the sons of men are false and deceitful. To-day they are, to-morrow they shall perish ; but God abides for ever, who has his servants not for *his own* need, but for the advantage of his servants themselves, to whom he observes what he has promised, fulfils what he has engaged to do for them, never repelling from him any faithful servant, for he says, ' Where I am, there also shall my servant be.' Every servant thy master makes lord over all he possesseth, for he gives him himself, and with himself all things, that he may without care, without fear, nay without any cessation, possess all things, sharing with all the saints in endless joy." ‡ Also in another letter Huss writes : " This I have constantly borne on my heart, ' Trust not in princes ;' and the words, Cursed is the man who trusts in men, and makes an arm of flesh

* Mikowec, Letter 7.

† Ibid. fol. 68, 2 ; Ep. 34. Compare what has been quoted before from this letter.

‡ Ibid. fol. 64, 2 ; Ep. 21.

his confidence!" He therefore counsels his friends to prudence.* Thus he writes to a friend near the emperor: "I thought that the emperor had some regard for the law of God and the truth; now I perceive that these weigh but little with him. He condemned me before my enemies did. Would that he could have shown but as much moderation as the heathen Pilate, who, after hearing the accusation, said, 'I find no fault in this man,' or would that he had said, at the least, I have given him a safe-conduct, and if he refuses to submit to the decision of the council, I will send him back with your sentence and the evidence against him to the king of Bohemia, to be finally dealt with by him and his clergy."† In general it was a great mistake in Huss if he supposed that he should find in the princes of his time, who really had nothing but their own political interests in view, allies with himself against the hierarchy and for the reformation of the church. He sees a fulfilment of the prophecy of Revelation, that the kings would commit fornication with the great whore of Babylon, the corrupt church; for they had fallen away from Christ's truth, and embraced the lies of Antichrist, yielding to seduction, or to fear, or induced by the hope of an alliance, and of obtaining the power of this world.‡

Among the steps which were now taken with a view to persuade Huss to recant, the most worthy of notice are those of an unknown friend, perhaps the person referred to by Huss as one of the only two individuals favourably disposed to him at the council.§ We may conjecture that he was one of those monks, the so-called friends of God, who,

* Mikowec, fol. 68, 2; Ep. 33.

† Ibid. fol. 69, 1; Ep. 34.

‡ Ibid. fol. 64, 2; Ep. 22.

§ It was formerly supposed that the person here mentioned was a cardinal, though the way in which he speaks to Huss would by no means favour any such conjecture. Some readers finding in the letters of Huss, which we have already quoted, a person mentioned by the name of John Cardinalis, whom Huss warned against speaking so freely, and not recollecting that John Cardinalis, of Reinstein, of whom we have so often spoken, were led into the error of supposing that a cardinal by the name of John was here intended; and thus concluded that cardinal John, of Brogny, bishop of Ostia, commonly called Johannes Ostiensis, was the individual referred to. Lenfaut, in the History of the Council of Constance, was the first to correct this mistake.

like Tauler's Staupitz, had in the solitude of their convents been led, through many conflicts of soul and inward experiences, to the knowledge of the great cardinal truth of the gospel, and to repose their trust in Christ *alone* as their Saviour; although at the same time they still clung fast, as did Luther also at the beginning, to the whole ancient church system, which itself became transfigured to their eyes, as viewed from that central point of their whole Christian life. It was a principle with these men never to assume the position of polemics, but rather to work positively in preparing the way for the regeneration of the church, whose corruptions they deeply felt, by beginning at the very centre of Christianity. A person of this character would be a close and attentive observer of Huss, and would recognise in him a kindred spirit. He would only be inclined to disapprove of his too polemical and violent bent to reform, and lament that he should sacrifice himself by giving way to this, instead of preserving his life for the kingdom of God by accommodating himself to things as they were, and remaining within the church as salt wherewith it might be seasoned. Conformably to the principle so often to be met with amongst the mystics, the principle of monkish obedience, this pious man may have thought that Huss would do well to submit to the decision of his superiors at the council, as the organs of God, thus sacrificing his own self-will and recognising a lesson from God, teaching him to observe greater moderation and prudence in his future labours for the promotion of reform. The great confidence with which he seems to have reckoned that if Huss would accept the form of recantation which he proposed to him, his affair might still be adjusted, would perhaps warrant us to conclude that he did not act solely on his own responsibility, but could rely on the concurrence of more powerful individuals. Now if we place this in connection with the fact that cardinal Zabarella had promised Huss a form of recantation by which his conscience would be left undisturbed, it will appear not at all improbable, that the person of whom we are speaking stood somehow connected with this cardinal, and had arranged the whole matter with him. Perhaps, as we might conjecture from the tone in

which he speaks, he was himself the abbot of some convent. The recantation which this unknown individual proposed to Huss was to this effect: "Besides the protestations made before by me, and which I hereby renew, I protest, moreover, that though a great deal has been charged against me which never entered my thoughts, yet I submit in all that has been charged against me, or objected to me, or extracted from my books, or even uttered against me by witnesses, humbly to the merciful direction, determination, and correction of the council, and agree to abjure, to recant, to submit to such merciful penance as may be imposed upon me, and to do all that the council may, in its goodness, see fit to determine for my salvation, commending myself with all submission to its mercy." This recantation being laid before him, Huss replied: "May the Almighty Father, the most wise and gracious God, bestow on my father who is so kind to me, for Christ's sake, the eternal life of glory! I am very grateful," he writes, "most reverend father, for your paternal goodness. I do not venture to submit to the council, in the form which has been laid before me; first, because I should have to condemn many truths which they, as I have heard from themselves, call scandalous; next, because I should perjure myself by such abjuration, since I should have to declare myself guilty of those errors, and thus give great scandal to the people of God, who have heard the contrary from me in my preaching. If, then, that Eleazar, of whom it is written in the Books of the Maccabees that he would not falsely confess that he had eaten flesh forbidden by the law, lest he might act against God and leave a bad example to those who should come after him, how should I, though an unworthy priest of the *new* law, through fear of a punishment which will soon be over, think of transgressing the law of God with a more grievous sin, first by departing from the truth; secondly, by incurring the guilt of perjury: and thirdly, by giving scandal to my neighbour? It would be far better for me to die than, in seeking to escape a momentary punishment, to fall into the hands of God, and perhaps afterwards into eternal fire and eternal shame. And since I have appealed to the Lord Jesus Christ, the almighty and most wise

judge, committing into his hands *his own* cause, I therefore abide his sentence and his most holy decision, knowing that he will not judge by false evidence and fallible councils, but according to the truth, and to every man's just deserts." His unknown friend, however, was not to be repelled by this language, but replied to the letter of Huss, bringing the matter once more directly home to his heart. "First," he writes to him, "let it not trouble you, my dearest brother, that you condemn truths, since it is not *you* that condemn them, but those who are your superiors, and for the present, also, mine. Give heed to that word, Lean not to thine own understanding (Prov. iii. 5). For there are many persons of knowledge and conscience at the council. My son, receive the law of thy mother. This, in relation to the first point. Next, as regards the second, the breaking of your oath; even if that perjury were really a perjury, still the guilt of it would not fall on you, but on those who require the oath. Next, there are no heresies, so far as you are concerned, when the obstinacy is removed. Augustin, Origen, and the Master of Sentences committed errors and rejoiced to be set right again. I have often supposed that I understood a thing accurately, and yet was mistaken; when corrected, I have turned about cheerfully. I write with brevity, because I write to one who understands. You will not depart from the truth, but come nearer to the truth. You will not commit a perjury, but better the matter; you will occasion no scandal, but edify. Eleazar was a glorious Jew; still more glorious was the Jewess with the seven sons and eight martyrs (2 Macc. vii.). Paul was let down in a basket, that he might advance the better cause. The judge to whom you appeal, the Lord Jesus, will release you from your appeal in consideration that contentions are still due from you for the faith of Christ.* To these re-

* *Judex appellationis vestræ Dominus Jesus det vobis apostolos, et sunt ii: Adhuc debentur tibi pro fide Christi certamina.* The term "apostolis" is here used in the sense of the later judicial Greek and Latin—a document by which a court dismissed a person from its own jurisdiction, and granted him liberty to betake himself to another, allowed him a release from his appeal. Now, this document is represented as implied in the cited words: Huss is reserved for further contests in behalf of the faith. The writer, therefore, recognised the

presentations Huss replied: "All this the council has often required of me. But as* it is implied in it all that I recant, abjure, and submit to a penance, which would oblige me to deny many truths; next, as it would be a perjury to abjure errors falsely imputed to me; then, as I should by so doing give occasion of offence to many of God's people to whom I have preached; therefore it were better for me that a millstone were hung about my neck, and that I should be cast into the midst of the sea; and fourthly, if I complied to escape a brief punishment and shame, I should fall into the greatest punishment and shame, if I did not, before my death, feel the most poignant remorse for what I had done. The seven martyrs, therefore, belonging to the times of the Maccabees, come up before me to confirm me, who chose rather to be cut in pieces than to eat flesh contrary to the word of God. That Eleazar, too, comes up before me, who would not even say that he had eaten that which was forbidden by the law, lest he should leave a bad example to those who came after him, but chose rather to perish as a martyr. How should I, then, who have before my eyes all those examples, and many holy men and women of the new covenant, who have surrendered themselves to martyrdom rather than consent to sin, I who have for so many years preached of patience and fortitude, how should I fall into many falsehoods and perjury, and give scandal to many sons of God? Far, very far, be it from me to do any such thing; because the Lord Jesus Christ will most abundantly reward me, since he now gives me the help of patience." †

Huss was visited in his prison by several members of the council, both strangers and acquaintances, who sought to persuade him to recant in order to save his life. A doctor who visited him laboured to convince him that he would be

cause for which Huss contended as that of the faith, and placed hopes upon him, in case he should preserve his life, that he would still further promote the cause of the faith in fighting against the corruptions of the world.

* [In the Latin text which, as we have often seen, is extremely incorrect, *quia* stands here, which Neander translates without taking care to get rid of the resulting anacoluthon. But perhaps it would be better read *primo*, and then let *secundo*, *tertio*, *quarto*, follow in their order. Editor.] † Opp. I. fol. 70; Ep. 38, 39, 40, and 41.

innocent of all guilt if he submitted blindly to the decision of the council. He added: "If the council declared that thou hadst but one eye, when thou hast two eyes, thou wouldest still be bound to submit to their decision." Huss replied: "Though the whole world should tell me this, yet I could not admit it so long as I have my reason, as I now exercise it, without gainsaying my conscience." After many words the doctor finally gave up the point, saying: "It is true, I have not chosen a good example."* Paletz himself† said to Huss that he ought not to dread the shame of recantation, but to look simply at the good which would come out of it. Huss replied: "It is a greater shame to be condemned and to be burned, than to recant; how should I, then, dread the shame? But give me your opinion: what would you do, if errors were ascribed to you which you had never taught? Would you consent to abjure them?" Paletz replied: "It is an awkward thing." And he began to weep.‡ Several who visited Huss endeavoured to convince him also on the ground of that monkish notion of humility, that he ought to feel no scruples about abjuring even what he had never taught, when it was required of him by the council; by so doing he would not be guilty of a lie; it would be but an act of submission to higher authority, an act of humility. Examples were cited of persons who, from humility, confessed themselves guilty of crimes they had never committed; such cases occurring in the histories of the ancient monks. An Englishman mentioned the example of persons in England suspected of Wickliffitism, among whom were several very worthy men, who all at the command of the bishop of Canterbury abjured the Wickliffite errors. But all this was quite at variance with that strict regard to truth which was a ruling principle with Huss.§

From his cell, Huss had contemplated the course of action pursued by the council. It could scarcely fail to make a great impression on his mind to see the pope, for whose authority men were so zealous, the man who had occasioned his imprisonment, afterwards deposed himself

* Opp. I. fol. 68, 1; Ep. 32.

† Huss relates this in a letter of the 23rd of June.

‡ Opp. I. fol. 67, 1; Ep. 30. § Ibid. fol. 67, 2; Ep. 31.

by the council, charged with the most atrocious crimes, and closely confined in the castle of Gottleben, which Huss had left. He recognised in all this a judgment of God, and could bring it in evidence against those advocates of papal absolutism, who accused him of high treason against the pope's authority. He writes:* "They have condemned their own head; what now can those men have to say, who hold the pope to be God on earth, and maintain that he cannot sin, cannot practise simony? that he is the head of the collective holy church, which he governs extraordinarily well? who say, he is the head of the holy church, which he spiritually nourishes; he is the fountain out of which flows all power and goodness; he is the sun of the church; he is the spotless asylum, and that to him every Christian must betake himself for refuge? "Now," says he, "this head is cut off, the earthly god is in chains, accused of sin, the fountain is dried up, the sun is eclipsed, the heart torn out, the asylum has fled from Constance, so that nobody can take refuge in him. His own council has accused him of heresy, because he made sale of indulgences, bishoprics, and other benefices; and those very persons have condemned him, of whom many bought their places of him, while many others push the same trade among themselves. He expresses his indignation that the pope should be condemned on account of simony by prelates, who, after their own fashion, practised the same iniquity. If Christ should address this council as he did those who asked him to condemn the woman taken in adultery,—he that is without sin among you let him cast the first stone at the pope, they would go out one after another. Wherefore did they kneel before the pope—kiss his feet, and call him most holy father, when they knew him to be guilty of a most atrocious crime? Wherefore did the cardinals choose for a pope, one who was the murderer of his predecessor?" Thus he writes in another letter: "Now you may understand what the life of the clergy is who say they are true representatives of Christ and his apostles, who call themselves the most holy church, the most infallible council; and yet this same council has been in error; it has first

* On the 24th June, Mikowec, Letter 6.

honoured John the Twenty-third with bowed knee, and called him Most Holy, while yet they knew that he was a shameful murderer, and guilty of other crimes besides, as they themselves afterwards declared when they condemned him?"* In the abominations of the secularized church, Huss sees fulfilled already, as Janow had done, the predictions of Christ regarding the abomination in the holy place according to Daniel. He writes to the Bohemians, that they should not allow themselves to be terrified by the council of Constance; they would never go to Bohemia; many of the council would die before they could force the delivering up of the books of Huss in Bohemia. These books, like storks, would fly in all directions, from the council, dispersing into all quarters of the world; and when winter came, they would perceive what they had effected in the summer. Huss supposed that he had received many prophetic intimations in his dreams. "Know," he writes to his friends, "that I have had great conflicts in my dreams. I dreamed beforehand of the flight of the pope. And after relating it, Chlum said to me in my dream, 'The pope will also return.' Then I dreamt of the imprisonment of Jerome, though not literally according to the fact. All the different prisons to which I have been conveyed have been represented beforehand to me in my dreams. There have often appeared to me serpents, with heads also on their tails; but they have never been able to bite me. I do not write this because I believe myself a prophet, or wish to exalt myself, but to let you know that I have had temptations both of body and soul, and the greatest fear lest I might transgress the commandment of our Lord Jesus Christ."† Huss proved himself to be a genuine Christian martyr in the succession of Christ; for it was not with stoical apathy, not in the intoxication of fanaticism that renders obtuse the natural feelings of humanity, but with entire self-possession, in the undisturbed and full feeling of human weaknesses, contending with and conquering them by the power of faith, that he gave his life as an offering to God. This picture Huss exhibits to us in that noble letter which he wrote on holy eve before

* Opp. I. fol. 63, 2; Ep. 19.
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† Ibid. fol. 68, 2; Ep. 33.
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the festival of John the Baptist, when he says: "Much consoles me that word of our Saviour, 'Blessed be ye when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their company, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake. Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy; for behold your reward is great in heaven,' Luke vi. 22, 23. A good consolation; nay, the best consolation; difficult, however, if not to understand, yet perfectly to fulfil, to rejoice amid those sufferings. This rule James observes, who says, 'My beloved brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations, knowing this, that the trying of your faith, if it is good, worketh patience,' James i. 2, 3. Assuredly is it a hard thing to rejoice without perturbation, and in all these manifold temptations to find nothing but pure joy. Easy it is to say this, and to expound it, but hard to fulfil it in very deed. For even the most patient and stedfast warrior, who knew that he should rise on the third day, who by his death conquered his enemies, and redeemed his chosen from perdition, was after the Last Supper troubled in spirit, and said, My soul is troubled even unto death; as also the Gospel relates, that he began to tremble and was troubled; nay, in his conflict he had to be supported by an angel, and he sweat as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground; but he who was in such trouble said to his disciples, Let not your heart be troubled, and fear not the cruelty of those that rage against you, because ye shall ever have me with you to enable you to overcome the cruelty of your tormentors. Hence his soldiers, looking to him as their king and leader, endured great conflicts, went through fire and water, and were delivered. And they received from the Lord the crown of which James speaks, i. 12. That crown will God bestow on me and you, as I confidently hope, ye zealous combatants for the truth, with all who truly and perseveringly love our Lord Christ, who suffered for us, leaving behind an example that we should follow in his steps. It was necessary that he should suffer, as he tells us himself; and we must suffer, that so the members may suffer with the head; for so he says, Whoever would follow me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. Oh most faithful Christ, draw

us weak ones after thee ; for we cannot follow thee, if thou dost not draw us. Give us a strong mind, that it may be prepared and ready. And if the flesh is weak, let thy grace succour us beforehand, and accompany us, for without thee we can do nothing ; and least of all can we face a cruel death. Give us a ready and willing spirit, an undaunted heart, the right faith, a firm hope, and perfect love, that patiently and with joy we may for thy sake give up our life." He subscribes this letter as follows : " Written in chains, on the vigils of St. John, who, because he rebuked wickedness, was beheaded in prison. May he pray for us to the Lord Jesus Christ!"* Huss requested permission before his death to confess himself, and at first chose his most violent opponent Paletz. He had so far overcome every feeling of indignation and revenge, as to be willing to confess to him. He begged the commissioners to grant him Paletz, or some other one. They sent him a doctor of theology, who was a monk. This person heard the confession of Huss, and spoke to him kindly and piously, as Huss relates. He counselled him, as the others had done, to recant ; he did not make it, however, a condition of absolution, but gave him the latter without it. This is worthy of notice, since Huss, if he did not recant, if the ban under which he had lain was not removed, being still an obstinate heretic, could not properly obtain absolution. We may conclude therefore, with some probability, that this monk too, like the above-mentioned unknown friend, belonged to the number of those whose judgment of Huss differed from that of the council.† In the prospect of death Huss expressed the pain he felt at not having succeeded in bringing together his beloved Bohemian nation under a common Christian and national interest, at being forced into a controversy on that subject with those who were his dearest friends. Accordingly he writes ‡ to the masters and bachelors and students of the Prague university : " I admonish you in the most gracious Jesus, that you mutually love one another, lay aside divisions and seek before all things the glory of God, remembering me, how I ever had

* Opp. I. fol. 67, 1 et 2 ; Ep. 30. † Ibid. fol. 67, 2 ; Ep. 31.

‡ On the 27th June.

in view the advancement of the university for the glory of God, how much I was troubled at your dissensions and your false steps, how I strove to knit together our excellent nation in unity. And behold how this nation in some of those, who were dearest to me, for whom I would willingly have sacrificed my life, has become bitter to me by the shame it has brought on me and by their calumnies, and at length they bring me to a bitter death. May the Almighty God forgive them, because they knew not what they did! For the rest, stand fast in the truth ye have known, which will triumph over all and is mighty through eternity.”* When Paletz last visited Huss, and the latter besought his forgiveness for any abusive or scornful language which he might have used towards him, particularly for his language in the tract written against him, where he had styled him the “Fictor,” the hardened man was moved to tears; but he always firmly held that much evil had been wrought in Bohemia by Huss and his adherents. †

It characterises Huss that in spite of the weighty cares and interests of a general nature that occupied his mind, and in the midst of his own personal sufferings and conflicts, he still preserved in his heart the tenderest regard for his friends who were to survive him, following in this respect also the pattern of his Saviour, who showed forth his love to his own even unto death. In one of his last letters, ‡ he expresses to the knight of Chlum his delight at learning that he meant to renounce the vanities and toilsome service of the world, and retiring to his estate, devote himself wholly to the service of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose service was perfect freedom. In like manner he expresses joy at learning that the knight Wenceslaus of Duba had resolved to retire from the world and to marry. “It is even time for him,” he writes, “to take a new course; for he has already made journeys enough through this kingdom and that, jousting in tournaments, wearing out his body, squandering his money, and doing injury to his soul. It only remains for him therefore to renounce all these things, and remaining quietly at home with his wife, serve God,

* Opp. I. fol. 63, 1; Ep. 18.

† Ibid. fol. 67, 2; Ep. 31.

‡ On the 29th June, *ibid.* fol. 64, 2; Ep. 22.

with his own domestics around him. Far better will it be thus to serve God, without cares, without participation in the sins of the world, in good peace and with a tranquil heart, than to be distracted with cares in the service of others, and that, too, at the imminent risk of his salvation." He wrote as a postscript: "This is to be placed in the hands of my most trusty friend, that he may read it."* He writes to his friend Christann: † "My friend and special benefactor, stand fast in the truth of Christ, and embrace the cause of the faithful. Fear not, because the Lord will shortly bestow his protection and increase the number of his faithful. Be gentle to the poor as thou ever wast. Chastity, I hope, thou hast preserved; covetousness thou hast avoided, and continue to avoid it; and for thy own sake do not hold several benefices at once; ever retain *thy own* church, that the faithful may resort for help to thee, as to an affectionate father." He salutes Jacobellus and all the friends of the truth. The letter is subscribed: "Written in prison, awaiting my execution at the stake." ‡ Last of all, he addressed, while still in the immediate expectation of death, a letter to his friends in Prague, with his farewell salutations and commissions. He besought them that for his sake, who would be already dead as to the body, they would do all that lay in their power to prevent the knight of Chlum from coming into any danger. "I entreat you," he writes, "that you would live by the word of God, that you would obey God and his commandments as I have taught you. Express to the king my thanks for all the kindnesses he has shown me. Greet in my name your families and your friends, each and all of whom I cannot enumerate. I pray to God for you; do you pray for me? To Him we shall all come, since he gives us help." Thus wrote Huss, probably on the 4th of July, when he was expecting his martyrdom on the next day. He added, "Already I trust I shall suffer for the sake of the word of God." He begged his friends for God's sake not to suffer that any cruelty whatever should be practised against the servants and the saints of God. In a postscript,

* Opp. I. fol. 65, 1; Ep. 23.

† See above, page 448.

‡ Ibid. fol. 63, 1; Ep. 17.

he sent his fur cloak as a token of remembrance to Peter of Mladenovic.*

Thus wrote Huss in the prospect of death; for already was his fate decided by his constant refusal to recant. On the 1st of July, an official deputation of the council led by John of Wallenrod, bishop of Riga, appeared before Huss and invited him once more to recantation; when he declared his resolution in writing, as he had already declared it by word of mouth to individuals. The document concluded with these words: "Were it possible that my voice could now reach to the whole world, as each one of my sins and every falsehood I have uttered will, on the day of judgment, be made known before all, I would most joyfully before the whole world recant everything false and erroneous which I have ever had it in my thoughts to say, or have ever said. This I say and write of my own free will." On the 5th of July, appeared a deputation from the emperor, consisting of four prelates, among whom were the cardinals d'Ailly and Zabarella, accompanied by the two Bohemian knights so often mentioned; and Huss was led out from his cell. Chlum addressed Huss in these words: "I am an unlettered man, and know not how to advise you, who are a learned man. Yet I beseech you, if you are conscious of any error in that which has been publicly brought against you by the council, do not shrink from altering your opinion according to their will; but if you are not, I shall not lead you to the false step of doing aught contrary to your conscience; I much rather advise you to suffer any punishment sooner than deny the truth of which you are well assured." Huss answered weeping: "I call God the Almighty, as I have often done, to witness that from my heart I am ready, whenever the council teaches me anything better by testimonies from holy Scripture, to change my opinion at once, and to confess publicly under oath that I was previously in an error." Thereupon one of the bishops standing by remarked in a bitter tone, "He would never be so arrogant as to set his own judgment above the decision of the whole council." To this Huss replied, "Nor am I of any other mind; for if he who is least in the

* Opp. I. fol. 65, 1; Ep. 24.

council can convict me of an error, I will gladly do all that the council requires of me." "Mark," said the bishops at this, "how obstinately he clings to his errors!" And so they returned back to the emperor with this final declaration of Huss.

On the 6th of July, Huss appeared before the assembled council, at which the emperor also was present, seated upon his throne, surrounded by the princes, and with the insignia of the empire. In the middle of the hall where the council met, stood a sort of table, and near it a wooden frame or stand, upon which were hung the priestly vestments which Huss was to put on previous to his degradation. After an introductory discourse the process was read, together with all the articles of complaint, and from the whole the conclusion was drawn that Huss was a follower of Wickliff, and had disseminated Wickliffite doctrines. Various errors and heresies were ascribed also to Huss himself, with various qualifications, and he was pronounced an obstinate, incorrigible heretic. One of the points here specified was the appeal of Huss to Jesus Christ, which was characterised as an overleaping of the constituted instances of ecclesiastical courts, as an act of infatuation, and a contempt of church jurisdiction.* Huss attempted, more than once, to interpose a word in defence of himself against the allegations; but he was not permitted to proceed. He pleaded once more for liberty to vindicate himself, lest those present might suppose that the things alleged against him were true. But when he found that all was of no avail, falling upon his knees, he commended in prayer his whole cause to God and to Christ. Though commanded to be silent, he felt impelled, during the reading of the process against him and the pronouncing of his sentence, occasionally to utter a word in vindication of himself. He expressed himself with great presence of mind, uniting confidence with humility. When his appeal to Christ was, for the reasons above stated, condemned as heretical, he said: "O Christ! whose word is, by this council, publicly condemned, I appeal to thee anew, thou who, when thou

* Cum appellationem ad Dominum Jesum Christum, tanquam supremum judicem omissis ecclesiasticis mediis interposuit. *Histor. Hussi*, Opp. I. fol. 27, 2.

wast ill intreated by thine enemies, didst appeal to thy Father, thy cause thou didst commit to that most righteous judge, that we, following thy example, might, when oppressed by injustice, take refuge in thee." When it was objected to Huss that he had remained for so long a time under the ban, and yet held mass, he told what he had done to obtain his acquittal and the removal of the ban, and concluded by stating how he had come to the council of his own accord with a safe-conduct from the emperor. In saying this, he turned and looked the emperor full in the face. The latter is said to have blushed.* When Huss was pronounced an obstinate heretic, he said: "I never was obstinate; but as I have always demanded, up to this hour, so now I ask only to be informed of what is better from holy Scripture; and I confess that so earnestly do I strive after the truth, that if with a word I could destroy the errors of all heretics, there is no peril I would not willingly incur for that end." When his books were condemned, he said: "Wherefore condemn ye them, when you have not offered a single argument to prove that they are at variance with the holy Scriptures and with the articles of faith? And what injustice is this, that ye condemn, with the rest of my books written in the Bohemian tongue, books that ye have never seen, much less read!" At times he prayed with his eyes fixed heavenward. When his sentence had been read to the end, falling upon his knees, he said: "Lord Jesus! forgive my enemies: as thou knowest that I have been falsely accused by them, and that they have used against me false testimony and calunnies. Forgive them for the sake of thy great mercy!" These words were received with laughter by many. Next followed his degradation from the spiritual order, which was performed by seven bishops selected for this purpose. First, he was clad with the priestly vestments. Through the whole of this transaction, the example of Christ stood distinctly before Huss, whose steps he was conscious of following in all the insults he had to endure. In this sense he interpreted many parts of the proceeding. Invested with the

* This is so stated by V. d. Hardt, IV. p. 393: *Hæc cum loqueretur, oculos in imperatorem defixos habuit. Ille vero statim vehementer erubuit, atque ejus verecundus tinxerat ora rubor.*

priestly robes, he was called upon once more by the bishops to show some regard for his honour and his soul's salvation, and recant. Addressing himself with tears to the people who stood around, he said: "These worshipful bishops require it of me to confess before you all that I have erred. If this thing were of such a nature that it could be done so as to involve only the disgrace of a single individual, they would more easily persuade me to it. But I now stand before the eyes of my God, without dishonouring whom, as well as meeting the condemnation of my own conscience, I cannot do this. For I know that I have never taught anything of the kind that I have been falsely accused of teaching; but have always thought, written, and taught the contrary. With what face could I look to heaven, with what brow could I meet those who have heard my teaching, of whom the number is great, if by my fault it should happen that what hitherto they were most certainly assured of through me, should be made uncertain to them? Should I by my example destroy the peace of so many souls whom I have made familiar with the most settled testimonies of Scripture, and with the purest doctrines of the gospel, and thereby fortified against all the assaults of Satan? Far be it from me that I should value this my mortal body more highly than the salvation of those souls." This too, which was now spoken by him, was construed as a proof of his obstinacy in his heresies. The several articles of his dress were then removed, piece by piece, with set forms of expression. When the cup of the eucharist was taken from his hands, with the words: "We take from thee, condemned Judas, the cup of salvation," he answered: "But I trust in God, my Father, the Almighty, and my Lord Jesus Christ, for whose name I bear this, that he will not take from me the cup of his salvation; and I have a firm hope that I shall yet drink of it to-day in his kingdom." A dispute having arisen about the mode of removing his tonsure, Huss said to the emperor: "I am surprised when all are alike cruel, they cannot agree among themselves about the *mode* of cruelty." A cap painted over with devils was then placed on his head, with the inscription: "Arch-heretic." But he said: "My Lord Jesus Christ wore, on my account, a crown of thorns; why

should not I be willing, for his sake, to wear this easier though shameful badge? I will do it, and gladly." When this was done, the bishops said: "Now we give over thy soul to the devil." "But I," said Huss, raising his eyes to heaven, "commend into thy hands, Jesus Christ, my soul, by thee redeemed." Huss, cast forth from the church, was now delivered over to the secular arm. The emperor then commanded duke Louis of Bavaria to consign Huss to the executioners of justice. When, on being led away by them, he beheld his books burning before the doors of the church, he smiled. He bade all whom he passed not to believe that he was about to die for the sake of some erroneous doctrine, but that it was only through the hatred and malice of his adversaries, who had brought against him false accusations. On arriving at the place of execution, Huss fell upon his knees and prayed, in the words of a few psalms, particularly the fifty-first and thirty first. He was heard often to repeat the words: "Into thy hands, Lord, I commit my spirit." When laymen, standing by, heard this, they said: "What he may have done before, we know not; but now we see and hear him pray and speak most devoutly!" When compelled to rise from his knees, he said: "Lord Jesus Christ! stand by me, that by thy help I may be enabled, with a strong and stedfast soul, to endure this cruel and shameful death, to which I have been condemned on account of the preaching of the holy gospel and thy word." Huss then permitted his first prison-keepers to come near him, and said to them in the German language: "I thank you, my dearest brethren, for all the kind attentions you have shown me, for you waited upon me like dearest brothers, to say nothing of your being my keepers. And be assured that I have a firm trust in my Saviour, in whose name I will, with good courage, suffer this kind of death, believing that I shall to-day reign with him."* He then explained, as he had done before, the cause of his death to the people. When he was placed upon the faggots, bound fast to the stake, and chained to it by the neck, he said: "I willingly wear these chains for Christ's sake, who wore still more grievous ones." Before the pile was

* V. d. Hardt, IV. p. 447.

lighted, the marshal of the empire, Von Pappenheim, rode up to him and called upon him once more to recant. But he said: "What error should I recant, when I am conscious of no error? for I know that what has been falsely brought against me, I never thought, much less have I ever preached. But the chief aim of my preaching was to teach men repentance and the forgiveness of sins according to the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ and the expositions of the holy fathers; therefore am I prepared to die with a joyful soul." The fire being kindled, Huss commenced singing, with a loud voice: "Jesus, Son of the living God, have mercy upon me!" As he was beginning to repeat this for the third time, his voice was stifled by the flames, which the wind drove towards him; yet his lips were seen for a long time to move, as in prayer. The ashes of his body, when burned, were cast into the Rhine, so that nothing might remain of him to pollute the earth, precisely as the ashes of Polycarp were disposed of by the pagans.

We have still to speak of the fellow-combatant of Huss, *Jerome of Prague*. This person, who appeared sometimes in the character of a philosopher and theologian, sometimes in that of a knight and man of the world, had created a still greater and more general stir than Huss. He had laboured in countries the most diverse to promote the cause of reform, and had displayed far greater zeal than the more practical Huss in diffusing the doctrines of Wickliff. In Bohemia and Moravia, he had extended his influence among all classes.* Then again he had produced great commotions at several universities by his zeal in defending the doc-

* To this there is doubtless special allusion in what the abbot of Dola says, when speaking of persons, who, after wandering through many countries, laboured to disseminate Wickliffite doctrines in Bohemia and Moravia, at the courts of princes, in cathedral churches, in convents, even among the Carthusians, and among people of both sexes, and among students at the universities: *Quidam insani magistri Wickliffitici ordinis et schismatis non solum post discursum peregrinarum nobis terrarum et districtum etiam in terris nostris, Bohemiæ et Moraviæ, aulas principum, collegia et cathedras sacerdotum, scholas studentium, promiscui sexus popularem tumultum fidelium, antra deserti claustralium, sed etiam segregatas in partem et pacem silentii Cartusiensium cellulas cum terrore valido (repleverunt) vehementer. Antiwikleffus, in Pez, IV, 2, pp. 157 et 158.*

trines of Wickliff, for example in Paris and Heidelberg. In Paris he had more opposition to encounter from the fact that this university was a seat of nominalism. Wickliff's doctrine concerning God's almighty power, which he there set forth, would in particular arouse the suspicion of one so zealously devoted to uniformity of doctrine, and so prejudiced against everything of an abnormal and eccentric nature, as chancellor Gerson. The latter was prepared to bring him to trial, where he was to be forced to a recantation; but he was informed of it in time to make his escape.* Next we find him in Vienna, where also he excited disturbances. The magistrates caused him to be arrested, but afterwards set him at liberty. And he was still later accused at Constance of having brought this about by deceiving the magistrate, promising that he would make up his mind to recant, and that he would not leave Vienna until the end of his trial.† From the castle of Wietow, he addressed to the official a letter, excusing his flight on the ground that his promise had been given under constraint. "You are to know," he wrote, "that I am at the castle of Wietow, sound and hearty, with many friends ever ready to serve you and yours. And I pray you excuse me with regard to the promise you forced from me, as you will do, if you weigh well the import of such a promise. For we by no means intend to evade the law, but are always ready to hold ourselves responsible to it if a suitable guaranty of just treatment is given us. Yet to stand alone amidst so many hundred enemies is what you would not advise me to do yourself if you truly loved me.

* We take this from the trial of Jerome at Constance, where he is reproached with the fact: *Cum Hieronymus sæpius de articulis Wicleff incepisset conferre, aliosque ad conferendum induxisset, laudasset et commendasset Joannem Wicleff et ejus perversam doctrinam, tandem in quadam disputatione publica dictos errores publice tenuit, et præsertim, quod Deus nihil possit annihilare. Tandem quum esset per plures magistros Parisienses graviter notatus et vehementer de hæresi per eos habitus suspectus, iidem magistri et præsertim Joann. de Gersonne ipsum ad revocandum hujusmodi errores compulsisset. Sed Hieronymus, nescitur per quem avisatus, occulte civitate et studio recessit. V. d. Hardt, IV. pp. 680 et 681.*

† (Viennæ) propter infamiam hæreseos per officialem curiæ fuit arrestatus, et juravit et sub pœna excommunicationis promisit, de oppido Viennensi nullatenus recedere, neque se absentare, cæt. Ibid. p. 638.

But my soul has escaped like a sparrow from the net of the fowlers; the snare is broken, and we are free. Still I thank you, and shall always thank you. Do but send me all my adversaries with the witnesses to Prague; there I will meet them in fair debate. Or, if it should be more convenient for them, let us together go the court (probably of Rome), where they will have quite as many acquaintances as I have."* In his defence of himself at Constance, Jerome justifies his conduct on the ground, that the proceedings of the official against him were wholly irregular, since he had no lawful authority over him, belonging, as he did, to another diocese.† Accordingly he looked upon the whole proceeding as an exercise of arbitrary power, and thought himself fully justified in making his escape from it. It could not justly be exacted of him to stay and await his own death at the stake, which was inevitable."‡ We next find him, in the year 1410, in Ofen, where he appeared before the emperor Sigismund and many bishops. It was not till the archbishop Zbynek had entered a complaint against him in a letter to the emperor, that he was arrested by the latter, and handed over to the archbishop of Gran. This archbishop kept him under arrest only five days, and treated him with kindness. It was owing perhaps to the mediation of this prelate that the king dismissed him without demanding further security.§ Next having left Prague immediately after those commotions in 1413, of which we have given an account, Jerome visited king Wladislaw of Poland, and duke Witold of Lithuania. He appeared in

* V. d. Hardt, IV. p. 683.

† *Violenter arrestatus fui, nec quicquam mecum juridice, sed violenter actum est, nec habebant quicquam jurisdictionis super me, quia de alia eram diocesi.*

‡ *Nec furtive nec contumaciter recessi, sed violentiam mihi ab iis infligendam expectare non volui, prout nec tenebar, nec debui.* Ibid. p. 638.

§ In the complaints laid against Jerome at Constance, the affair is represented as if Jerome had been arrested and imprisoned and then banished from Hungary by the emperor Sigismund on account of the Wickliffite errors disseminated by him. But the report of Jerome is certainly, in itself, the more probable one: for, if Jerome was arrested on account of Wickliffite heresies, and subjected to an examination, his judges would not have been content with merely banishing him from Hungary.

Cracow, and there excited great commotions. Albert, bishop of Cracow, who stood forth as his opponent, supposes it is true that he found no acceptance there, and no susceptible soil for his opinions amongst that simple people. But he contradicts himself, when he says, at the same time, that such violent commotions had never been produced there by any individual since the memory of man. If the soil had been so unsusceptible, such effects could not have been produced. The truth may be, that the great mass of the simple people were offended at him, and would not hear him; but he must have found adherents among others.* He was accused at Constance of having shown a disposition to favour the Greek Church in Lithuania. Thus he is said to have made his appearance in the cities of Witepsk and Plescow, and to have participated there without scruple in the communion of the Greek Church which was devoted to the Russians. He is said to have endeavoured to persuade duke Witold to apostatise from the Latin Church. Jerome could say in defence of himself, that in the case of duke Witold the only question debated by him was, whether baptism, performed according to the rites of the Greek Church on a great number of people who were disposed to come over to the Latin Church, was to be recognised as valid, or whether it was necessary that they should be re-baptized, and he maintained the validity of such a baptism, holding it only to be necessary that such persons should be more exactly instructed in the doctrines of the Latin Church.† We may well suppose that those persons, who were seeking every way to stigmatise Jerome and Huss as heretics, and whose sayings, as is apparent from the facts already exhibited, were little worthy of credence; that

* The bishop writes: *Venit huc personaliter, et prima die barbatus apparuit, secunda vero imberbis stolatus, tunica rubra et caputio foderato, pellibus griseis, se gloriosum ostendebat, coram ipso rege, regina, principum, baronum ac procerum frequentia. Qui tamen licet hic paucis diebus moraretur, majores in clero et populo fecit commotiones, quam fuere factæ a memoria hominum in diocesi ista.—Terra nostra ad semen suum videtur esse arida capiendum et fructum afferendum, eo quod simplex plebicula tanti philosophi dogmata comprehendere non valet, et multo minus terræ Lituanorum et Russiæ cæt.* According to a citation in Palacky, III. 1 p. 351, note 412.

† V. d. Hardt, p. 643.

such persons by means of their sophistical reasonings from facts as simple as the above described might seize upon and pervert such cases so as to answer their own ends. At the same time it may be true, also, that Jerome had given some occasion for such accusations, by his rather liberal conversations on the subject of the relation of the Greek to the Latin Church. Proceeding as he doubtless did on the same fundamental idea of the church with Huss, and so apprehending this idea after a more spiritual and inward manner, approaching more nearly to the idea of the invisible church, he may perhaps from this point of view have risen superior to the points of opposition between the two churches, recognised genuine members of the church even amongst the Russians, and sought to encourage efforts to bring about a union between the two churches. If even such a man as chancellor Gerson, distinguishing the more essential from the more unessential, expressed himself with mildness on the relation of the Greek Church to the Latin, and sought to prepare the way for negociations of union, how much more might this be done by Jerome, who rose far above the narrow limits of Parisian theology. Jerome had, in the mean time, returned to Prague. The imprisonment of Huss had taken place. He could not bear to leave his friend and fellow-combatant alone in this crisis. He appeared at first incognito and secretly at Constance, on the 4th of April, 1415. But as he must soon ascertain that he would not be heard, and could not be safe there, he left Constance again, and repaired the next day to the small town of Ueberlingen, four miles distant. From thence he wrote to the emperor* and cardinals, and offered, if a safe-conduct were granted him, publicly to answer before any one to every charge of heresy that might be brought against him. Not being able to obtain such a safe-conduct, he caused to be affixed the next day, on the gates of the emperor's palace, on the doors of the principal churches, the residences of the cardinals, and other eminent prelates, a notice in the Bohemian, Latin, and German languages, wherein he declared himself ready, provided only he should

* It is his secretary, whose report is our authority for these statements: for he uses the expression: *Scriptis per me literas*. Cfr. Joann. Hus, Opp. II. fol. 349, seq.

have full liberty and security to come to Constance and to leave it again, to defend himself in public before the council against every accusation made against his faith. Not obtaining what he demanded, he procured a certificate to be drawn up to that effect by the Bohemian knights resident in Constance, and sealed with their seals, and with this, to serve as a vindication of himself to his friends, he turned his face towards Bohemia. But as he travelled slowly, at conflict with himself, his enemies succeeded in waylaying him, and getting possession of his person. He was arrested near Hirschau, a small town in Suabia. Meantime, as an answer to the notices posted up by Jerome at Constance, followed a citation of the council, calling upon him to defend himself before a public session of that body. A safe-conduct was granted him, in terms implying that he was to have no security for his person, it being promised him that he should suffer no violence, so far as this could be allowed without detriment to justice.* At the request of the council, and by the emperor's command, Jerome was now conducted in chains to the council on the 23rd of May, and he appeared before a public convocation of the same body in the Franciscan convent. In this assembly, he encountered a number of eminent men from the universities of Paris, Heidelberg, and Cologne, who recollected him, and triumphed over the man who had once given them so much alarm. Accordingly one after another addressed him, and reminded him of the propositions which he had set forth. The first among these was chancellor Gerson, who captiously charged him with wanting to set himself up as an angel of eloquence, and with exciting great commotions at Paris by maintaining the reality of general conceptions. We may observe here, as well as in other like examples, the strong propensity which now prevailed to mix up together philosophical and theological disputes. But Jerome distinguished one from the other, and declared that he, as a university master, had maintained such philosophical doctrines as had no concern with faith.

* *Ad quod a violentia, justitia semper salva, omnem tibi saluum conductum nostrum quantum in nobis est et fides exigit orthodoxa, tenore præsentium offerimus.* Opp. II. fol. 350, 1.

In reference to all that had been objected to him by different parties, he held himself ready to recant as soon as he was taught anything better. Amid the noisy shouts was heard the cry, "Jerome must be burnt." He answered with coolness, "Well, if you wish my death, let it come in God's name!" But the archbishop of Salzburg said, "Not that; for God has said, 'He wills not the death of a sinner, but that he should turn.'" Meanwhile, after the prelates had retired, Peter of Mladenowic, sent by Huss, came to the window of the room in which Jerome was to be found, and exhorted him to stand fast by the truth, and not to shrink even from dying for that truth for which he had so stoutly spoken. Jerome replied that he hoped, with the grace of God, to remain faithful to the truth even unto death; they had talked a good deal about death, now they were to learn what it *was*. He was now delivered over by the archbishop of Riga, in the night time, to a guard, who led him prisoner into a tower, where he was bound to a stake with his hands, feet, and neck, so that he could scarcely move his head. Thus he lay two days with nothing to eat but bread and water. Then for the first time he obtained, through the mediation of Peter of Mladenowic, who had been told of his situation by his keepers, other means of subsistence. This severe imprisonment threw him into a violent fit of sickness. He demanded a confessor, which was at first refused, then granted with great difficulty. After he had already spent several months in this severe confinement, he heard of the martyrdom of his friend. His death and the imprisonment of Jerome produced the greatest exasperation of feeling among the knights in Bohemia and Moravia. On the 2nd of September they put forth a letter to the council, in which they expressed their indignation, declared that they had known Huss but as a pious man, zealous for the doctrines of the gospel; and that he had fallen a victim only to his enemies and the enemies of his country. They entered a bitter complaint against the captivity of the innocent Jerome, who had made himself famous by his brilliant gifts; perhaps he, too, had already been murdered like Huss. They declared themselves resolved to contend even to the shedding of their blood, in defence of the law of Christ and of

his faithful servants.* The council now had to fear, that should Jerome experience the like fate with Huss, new oil would be added to the flames already kindled among the Bohemians, and violent agitations would begin from that quarter in the church. Hence they must use every effort to induce Jerome to recant. And hence he was caused repeatedly to appear before the council, where they hoped he might yield. The tedious length of his close confinement, which had now lasted near half a year, and his long-
ing desire for liberty, at length brought Jerome to a point where he gave in, and consented to offer a recantation. This was in the month of September. But it was deemed important by the council that the recantation should be made in the most public manner possible; and a general assembly of the council was therefore appointed for this purpose. Accordingly Jerome appeared in the 19th session, on the 23rd of September, 1415, and read a prescribed form of recantation, abjuring all the heresies of which he was accused, namely, all the heresies of Wickliff and Huss, acquiescing in the sentence passed by the council upon them both, and making several other declarations, such as the council required of him. One of these particularly deserving of notice, was his retractation of the assertion, that without the doctrine of the reality of general conceptions (*de universalibus realibus*) the Christian faith could not be defended. Here we have another example of the close connection which then prevailed between philosophical and theological polemics. After this Jerome was conducted back to his prison, but no longer closely fettered. Having now done all that was required of him he had a right to claim his liberty. This was even acknowledged by the commission appointed to conduct his trial, at the head of whom stood cardinal d'Ailly. But Paletz and Michael de Causis and monks who came from Prague endeavoured to raise suspicions against Jerome's recantation, and hinted at the disastrous consequences which would result from his being set at large. And there was, indeed, every reason to fear, that Jerome, as soon as he got back to Bohemia, would once more place himself at the head of the reform

* V. d. Hardt, IV. p. 495.

movement. Besides, chancellor Gerson added weight to the current suspicions against Jerome by a tract of his, "On protestations in matters of faith." Remarks, too, may have dropped from his own lips, betraying the true temper of his mind, and which would be made the most of by his enemies. But his judges, who confined themselves to the simple facts of the case, insisted on Jerome's liberation. The above-mentioned Bohemians zealously opposed them and hinted at bribery. The members of the commission finally threw up their office; a new commission was appointed; and Jerome was subjected to new examinations. At length he refused to submit to any more private examinations, and demanded a public trial, where he would express himself freely.

On the 23rd of May, Jerome finally obtained the desired public hearing before the assembled council. New articles of complaint were to be brought against him. He demanded liberty to speak first of himself. This was not granted him. He should answer first to the articles of complaint. He was required to bind himself by oath to speak the truth; but he declined taking an oath, as he did not acknowledge the competency of the new tribunal, nor the regularity of the new examination. On the 23rd and the 26th of May he defended himself, from seven o'clock in the morning till one in the afternoon, against all the accusations, one by one; unravelled in a connected discourse all the events in Prague in which he had taken a part, with such presence of mind, such eloquence, so much wit, as to excite universal admiration. Then, finally, he was allowed to speak of himself; and it was expected that he would only complain of the injustice of the new examination, appealing to the fact that he had done all that could be required of him, and close with demanding that the acquittal which had been put off so long should now be granted him. He actually commenced with something of this sort, describing the injustice of renewing the process against him, complaining of his new judges, and protesting against the competency of this new tribunal. But soon his discourse took a new turn altogether. In a dazzling strain of eloquence he brought up, one after another, those men who among pagans, Jews, and Christians had fallen victims to false

accusations, and particularly to priestly hatred. He spoke of Socrates, Seneca, Boethius, John the Baptist, Stephen, and, last of all, John Huss; enthusiastically dilating on the latter, as a man known to him only by his zeal for piety and truth; one who had drawn down upon himself the persecutions of a worldly-minded clergy only by the faithfulness with which he rebuked their corruption. He ended by declaring that there was no one of his sins he more painfully rued, than that of having suffered himself to be moved by the fear of death to acquiesce in the condemnation of that saintly confessor of the truth. He took back all he had said concerning Wickliff and Huss. He declared that he assuredly should not be the last of those who would fall victims to the cunning malignity of bad priests; and turning round to his judges he exclaimed: "I trust in God, my Creator, that one day, after this life, you shall see Jerome preceding you and summoning you all to judgment, and then you must render your account to God and to me, if you have proceeded against me wrongfully.* This last declaration of Jerome was his death-

* V. d. Hardt, IV. 757. In the Hist. Hieronym. Opp. II. fol. 352, 2, the account does not seem to be so exact as in the copy of the acts of the council in V. d. Hardt. In that account the chronological order of events seems not to have been regarded. According to the acts, Jerome spoke these words at the conclusion of his speech, on the 26th of May, and thus the beginning and the conclusion of this speech agree very well together. According to the report in the Hist. Hieronym., Jerome, on the contrary, did not speak these words until the 30th of May, after the speech introducing the motion for his trial. Moreover, the style of language in the acts wears more the impress of originality. We find in the other review of facts in the Hist. Hier., vague or indefinite statements exchanged for others more definite. For example, in the acts, the words run: *Quod una vice post hanc vitam haberent videre Hieronymum eos præcedere et eos omnes ad iudicium vocare.* In the Hist. Hier., on the other hand, the indefinite expression *una vice* is converted into "a hundred years after this life," for which we can see no reason whatever, even though we suppose a reference to the German reformation, which, however, would not be suitable in this connection even if considered as a prophecy. The passage in the Hist. Hier. is as follows: *Cito vos omnes, ut respondicatis mihi coram altissimo et justissimo iudice infra centum annos.* We see how these words, by gradual changes, and by being transferred from Jerome to Huss, gave occasion to that prophecy of Luther which was ascribed to Huss, and which has been handed down to posterity by the medals commemorative of the jubilee of the reformation: *Centum revolutis annis Deo et mihi reddetis rationem, which*

warrant. But partly by his eloquence and presence of mind, contrasted with his emaciated looks, in which were depicted the marks of his long and severe imprisonment, he had excited so deep a sympathy in many, that they were anxious to save him; and partly, they were loath to excite to a still higher degree, by this new martyrdom, the angry feelings of the Bohemians. A respite of forty days was therefore given him for reflection.* Let us hear how an eye-witness, a man quite destitute of susceptibility to religious impressions, one of the restorers of ancient literature, Poggio of Florence, the chosen orator of the council of Constance, expresses himself when speaking of the impression which this discourse of Jerome could not fail to make on all that heard it. He says, in a letter to his friend Aretino, or Leonard Bruno of Merezzo: "He had for three hundred and forty days† been pining away in a dark tower full of offensive effluvia. He had himself complained of the harsh severity of such confinement, saying that he, as became a stedfast man, did not murmur at being forced to endure such unworthy treatment, but that he could not help being astonished at the cruelty of men towards him. It was a place where he could not even see, much less read or write. I pass over the mental anguish which must have daily tortured him, and which was enough to destroy the power of memory itself within him. He cited so many

had some connection also with the really prophetic utterances which we meet with in Huss. But, in Huss, we find a prophetic consciousness, such as is ever wont to be possessed by the witnesses of evangelical truth in contending against antichristian errors,—the consciousness that the truth, of which they serve as the organs, will not succumb in the contest, but come forth out of it triumphant and more resplendent than before. Huss was fully convinced and assured, as we have seen, that although he himself must perish in this contest, yet still more powerful preachers of the truth and champions for it than he was, would be raised up after him by the Spirit of God. But Huss had no distinct individual, as Luther, before his mind, and his thoughts were rather upon Bohemia than upon Germany. We can only say: What the spirit of prophecy inspired in the mind of Huss went into fulfilment, but in a different way from what he supposed. What began in Bohemia, and perished after the stormy scenes that followed, was carried triumphantly through in Germany by the more mighty reformer.

* It is singular that Poggio mentions only a two days' respite.

† [We ought doubtless to read CCCLX. for CCCXL., though certainly it stands thus written in V. d. Hardt, III. 69. Ed.]

learned and wise men as witnesses in behalf of his opinions, so many teachers of the church, that they would have sufficed, if he had passed the whole of this time in all quietness in the study of wisdom. His voice was pleasant, clear, full-sounding, accompanied with a certain dignity; his gestures adapted to excite indignation or pity, which, however, he neither asked for, nor sought to obtain. He stood up fearlessly, undaunted, not merely contemning death, but even demanding it, so that one might look upon him as a second Cato. Oh, what a man, a man worthy of everlasting remembrance!"* Meantime, he was visited in his prison by several of the most considerable men of the council, who hoped that he might be prevailed on to recant. Among these was cardinal Francis Zabarella. But Jerome continued stedfast to the end.

The 30th of May was now appointed as the day for passing and executing the sentence on Jerome. After the bishop on whom this office was devolved by the council had made his discourse introducing the motion to pass sentence on Jerome, the latter began with a loud voice to address those who were present. He refuted what the bishop had said; protested his innocence; complained of the perversion of his language, and inveighed against the corruption of a clergy abandoned to luxury and self-enjoyment, rioting in pleasures at the expense of the poor. The sentence of the council having been pronounced on him, he was delivered over to the secular arm. He then commended himself to God, and singing psalms and hymns allowed himself to be led to the place of execution. On arriving at the spot where Huss had suffered martyrdom, and where he himself was to follow him, he fell on his knees and offered up a long and fervent prayer, so that the executioner growing impatient, he had to be lifted up from the earth. Whilst they were fastening him with a chain to the stake, and arranging the faggots around him, he sang a spiritual song in praise of the day that brought him martyrdom. The fire being lighted behind his back, lest he might see it and be terrified, he called to the executioner to light it before his eyes, "For," said he, "if I had been afraid of this fire, I

* V. d. Hardt, III. p. 69.

should not have come here!" And then addressing the assembled crowd in the German language he said: "My beloved children, as I have sung, so and no otherwise do I believe. But the cause for which I now die is this, that I would not agree with the council in affirming* that Master Huss was justly condemned by them. For I had truly known him as a genuine preacher of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." When the fire was kindled, he repeated in a loud voice, "Into thy hands, O God, I commit my spirit." And afterwards, when already suffering the deadly torture of the flames, he said, in the Bohemian language: "Lord God, have pity on me, forgive me my sins, for thou knowest I have sincerely loved thy truth." His voice could no longer be heard, but his lips appeared amidst the flames as if moving in prayer. The eye-witness, Poggio, then describes the impression which the martyrdom of Jerome made on him, though he found it impossible to comprehend what gave him the power so to die. "With cheerful looks he went readily and willingly to his death; he feared neither death, nor the fire and its torture. No stoic ever suffered death with so firm a soul, as that with which he seemed to demand it. Jerome endured the torments of the fire with more tranquillity than Socrates displayed in drinking his cup of hemlock."†

III. THE FRIENDS OF GOD IN GERMANY.

WHILE the contests between the popes, since the time of John the Twenty-second and the emperor Louis the Fourth, were important on account of their influence on the advancement of the church by promoting greater freedom of inquiry

* Poggio, in V. d. Hardt, III. p. 71.

† V. d. Hardt, III. p. 70. We may also compare here the words with which another man of this period, who likewise was incapable of understanding the spirit which animated these men, Æneas Silvio Piccolomini, expresses his admiration, when, speaking of Huss and Jerome, he says: *Pertulerunt ambo constanti animo necem, et quasi ad epulas invitati ad incendium properarunt, nullam emittentes vocem, quæ miseri animi facere posset indicium. Nemo philosophorum tam forti animo mortem pertulisse traditur, quam isti incendium.* *Histor. Bohemica*, p. 34.

into ecclesiastical law and reactions against the absolute power of the popes, there were other important influences also resulting from the same causes on the movements of the religious spirit. In particular, there was partly called forth and partly promoted by these contests a religious fermentation among the German people, of which the after consequences lasted for a long time. These influences, however, we must contemplate in their connection with other disturbances in the world, and other significant appearances. Great physical and mental suffering grew out of these contests; many minds were profoundly disquieted by the interdict, the suspension of divine worship, the absence of church blessings, where the need of them was most deeply felt. Add to this the desolating effects produced by one of those pestilences often witnessed, among the signs of a time preparing by the dissolution of the old for a new creation, by virtue of an inscrutable connection between physical and spiritual development on this earth; between history and nature, under the guiding hand of that wise providence which makes all power subservient to one highest end. And such pestilences serve the double purpose of arousing slumbering minds to thought, and making them conscious of their true condition. At the time of which we are speaking, all the causes above mentioned conspired together to bring the church to a consciousness of her deep corruption, to point her away from the physical to the spiritual distress, to awaken in her a remembrance of God's judgments, to direct her eye to the hidden future, leading men, with the prophets and the Apocalypse for their guides, to study the signs of the last times. And so, in fact, it came about that many thought they saw very near at hand the coming of Antichrist and the second advent of Christ, or a new spiritual revelation of Christ to execute judgment on a corrupt church, and prepare the way for restoring it to greater glory. Out of all this proceeded, on the one hand, divers movements of a fanatical spirit, and on the other contemplations of a more sober and profound Christian seriousness. We are speaking of movements which continued long to propagate themselves, reaching into the fifteenth century. The prophecies of a Hildegard; the writings, genuine and spurious, of an abbot Joachim, supplied nutriment to such

tendencies. The physical and spiritual sufferings of that distressful period awakened a more profound sense of religious need. In the common church theology such a need could find no satisfaction; from the common clergy, the individuals in whom this sense of need had been awakened, could expect no assistance. One peculiar characteristic for which the German race has ever been distinguished, is their profound sense of the religious element, seated in the inmost depths of the soul; their readiness to be impelled by the discordant strifes of the external world, and unfruitful human ordinances, to seek and find God in the deep recesses of their own hearts, and to experience a hidden life in God springing forth in opposition to barren conceptions of the abstract intellect that leave the heart cold and dead, a mechanism that converts religion into a mere round of outward ceremonies. John Nieder, a Dominican of the fifteenth century, relates in a book of his containing many remarkable passages regarding the internal religious life, in this and the next following times,* that in Germany it was a custom with men and women, not only of the lower orders but in noble families, to set apart *one* hour at least of every day to meditation on the benefits they owed to the sufferings of Christ, that they might be the better prepared for the patient endurance of trials and the exercise of all the virtues.† Thus arose among clergymen, monks, and laymen, of both sexes, the tendency to a mysticism that gave depth to the religious element. This tendency, which at first had developed itself in conflict with the beginnings of the scholastic theology, afterwards fell in with it, and was now beginning to shape itself in a more independent way and to gain greater influence, especially upon the popular life, in Germany. As early as the close of the thirteenth century, the way for this had already been prepared; but by the causes above mentioned it was still further promoted. Thus in the midst of this general distress

* Formicarius ed. v. d. Hardt. Hlemst. 1696.

† Est consuetudo laudabilis multorum, ne dicam plebeorum utriusque sexus in Alemmania, verum etiam magnatum et nobilium, ad minus semel die naturali, hora aliqui, summum humano generi impensum beneficium, Christi passionem, meditari ac repetere, ut exinde, Deo grati, mala mundi ferant patientius et virtutes operentur facilius. P. 133.

and these discords of the times, we see that affiliated societies, growing out of one spirit, were formed in south and west Germany and spread as far as the Netherlands, or from the Netherlands back to Germany, having their principal seats in Strasburg, Basle, Cologne, and Nuremberg, whose members were called, both by themselves and others, *Friends of God*. Not that it was intended thereby to designate an exclusive party or sect, but simply to denote a certain stage of spiritual life, the stage of disinterested love to God; a love free from all desire of reward as the predominating affection, and opposed to a state of the affections still under bondage, where the man seeks in God something other than God himself. The scripture which seemed to authorise this distinction and opposition between servants and friends of God, were our Saviour's words in John xv. 15, which are thus explained by one of these Friends of God, the Dominican John Tauler: "Therefore did our Lord say to his disciples, 'Henceforth I call you not servants, but friends.' The 'henceforth' was from the time they forsook all and followed him; then they were his *friends* and no longer servants."* The same opposition is expressed again by this writer, where he distinguishes between those that carried within them the false ground, those under bondage to the world, and the true friends of God, who, without any separate will of their own, referred all things to God.† Men were to be found among them, who had carefully studied the scholastic theology, who occasionally display a certain refinement and subtlety of conceptual distinction, and make some use of an exact classification of the mental faculties. Such men were Tauler and Ruysbroch. But still the theology growing out of a living intercourse with God, and grounded in the internal experiences of the spiritual life, was opposed to the former and considered far superior to it. They pointed away from the strifes and contests of the scholastic theologians, which served to bewilder the mind, to those fountains of knowledge within.

* See Schmidt, in his work, "Johannes Tauler von Strasburg," which contains so many richly-instructive remarks, explanatory of the appearances we are considering. Hamburg, 1841. P. 165.

† See the words in the Basle edition of his Sermons, of the year 1522, fol. 27, b; and in the Francfort edition of the year 1826. Vol. I. p. 263.

Thus Tauler warns against the propensity to pry into the mystery of trinity, holding that such matters should be left to the great masters at the universities; and even their disputations on these subjects he considers simply as make-shifts to dispose of the objections of heretics; not as though they could fathom the incomprehensible. "Let the great teachers study and dispute upon these matters. Yet in awkwardness of art they must still (with permission) stammer for the sake of Holy Church, looking about to see if they can possibly so express themselves as that she may not come into difficulty on account of heresy."* Tauler inveighs against those "who spoil that which should be born in the spirit, by boasting of reason, whether it be doctrine, or truth, or whatever else it may be, by pretending that they understand it, and can talk of it, and so seem to be, and are somewhat puffed up, though they bring the matter neither into life nor practice." He says: "Natural light, compared with the divine light, is less than a lighted taper to the noon-day sun."† Accordingly, he says of the true inward man, to which our Saviour's words, 'the kingdom of God is within you,' applies, that "here, these friends of God find truly and clearly the truth, which is unknown to all who do not dwell in this ground, nor keep themselves free and empty with regard to all creatures. Wherefore, beloved children, the masters of Paris diligently read the books, and turn over the leaves: this is something; this is pretty well; but *these* men read the true living book, where all is life."‡ From the number of these Friends of God came those monks and ecclesiastics who took the liveliest interest in the spiritual guidance of the laity, preached in the German language, and laboured not morely to educate the laity to orthodox thinking, to the devotional exercises of the church, to mortifications, and to various kinds of good works, but to lead them forward to a deeper experience of Christianity, to a truly divine life according to their own understanding of it. Great and striking was the difference between the common preachers, who were eager to display their own acuteness and learning, who amused the people

* Tauler's Sermons, Bas. ed. fol. 57, b; Fr. ed. II. p. 167.

† Ibid. 42 a; Fr. ed. II. p. 101.

‡ Ibid. 135 a; Fr. ed. III. p. 220.

with tales and legends, warned them only against the grosser sins, and recommended almsgiving and donations to the church, and these preachers belonging to the Friends of God, who entered profoundly into the internal religious life, and sought to trace sanctification back to a hidden life in God as its inmost ground. Great and striking the difference between those who had no other object in view than to work on the imagination by descriptions of hell and of purgatory, and thus to frighten men from sin or drive them to purchase indulgences, and those men who pointed beyond fear and the hope of reward, to the love of God which could desire no higher portion than Himself! From the number of these Friends of God came those priests, who, scorning to be troubled by the common scruples during the time of the papal interdict and amidst the ravages of the Black Death, bestowed the consolations of religion on the forsaken people. They put forth from Strasburg a letter addressed to the collective body of the clergy, arguing to show the injustice and wrong of leaving the poor, ignorant people to die under the ban.* Thus Tauler in Strasburg, without fear of the black vomit, which carried off many of the clergy, laboured incessantly during the interdict for the welfare of the people.† These Friends of God could pursue their work with the less opposition, because they recognised in all the standing regulations of the church the divine appointment; because they followed the principle of passive obedience, where it did not directly contradict the demands of their own consciences, and strictly submitted to their ecclesias-

* 1 Schmidt, p. 52.

† So the Dominican, Heinrich von Nördlingen, expresses his joy over the great work which the Lord wrought through him in the hearts of men in the midst of wretchedness; and he remarks, that he would prefer to die by the black vomit rather than do anything against the Lord. *Heumani Opuscula*, Norimb. 1747, p. 393. This person experienced persecution from the power of the emperor. He writes: "I have been before the princes of this world, who treat me so, that I no longer have any safe residence in this country." *Ibid.* p. 881. Margaretha Ebnerin, of Altorf, who stood on terms of intimate connection with the Friends of God, obtained the assurance by a vision, that she should have enough in the invisible communion with Christ, even while the participation of the holy supper was denied to her through the interdict. It was said to her: Christ would comfort her with his words; and with these she should give strength to the people. *Ibid.* p. 340.

tical superiors. They recommended the conscientious discharge of all duties required by the church laws, looked upon every outward exercise of religion prescribed by the church as a preparation for a higher stage of spiritual perfection; and yet they knew how to warn men at the same time against all externalisation of religion and supposed meritoriousness of good works. They pointed constantly from external things to the more hidden depths of the religious life. Thus Tauler, in a sermon where he compares many prelates of his time with blind leaders of the blind, after having spoken of the several gradations of spiritual superiors, from the pope downwards, remarks: "Were they all disposed to treat me ill, to be wolves to me, and snap at me, I am still to lay myself in true resignation and submissiveness humbly at their feet, and to do it without murmur or gainsaying."* The same preacher says: "Behold, for this, have all works been invented and devised, with good exercises of virtue, such as prayer, reading, singing, fasting, watching, and kneeling, and whatever other virtuous exercises there may be, that the man may be occupied therewith and kept away from foreign, unsuitable, ungodly things."† Know, that shouldst thou let thyself be stabbed a thousand times a day, and come to life again; shouldst thou let thyself be strung to a wheel, and eat thorns and stones; with all this, thou couldst not overcome sin of thyself. But sink thyself into the deep, unfathomable mercy of God, with a humble, submissive will, under God and all creatures, and know that then alone Christ would give it thee, out of his great kindness, and free goodness, and love, and compassion."‡ We may quote the beautiful words where he describes love as a power mightier than all outward discipline to overcome the obstinate strivings of sin and sense in man. He says: "Now mark, all penance-life has been devised for this purpose among other things, whether it be vigils, fasting, weeping, praying, taking discipline, hair-shirts, hard beds, and whatever else, it is all for this—that body and flesh being at all times against the spirit, they are much too strong for it." These outward

* Bas. ed. fol. 6 b; Fr. ed. I. p. 134.

† Ibid. 17 a; Fr. ed. I. p. 127.

‡ Ibid. 34 a; Fr. ed. I. p. 280.

disciplines, therefore, he regards as a means of giving preponderance to the spirit by weakening the flesh, as he says, "And for this, that we may come to the help of the spirit in these straits, may somewhat cripple the flesh in this conflict by putting upon it the curb of penitence, and so bringing it down that the spirit may have a chance to recover itself." Then speaking of love, as a much higher power to subdue the flesh, he says: "Wouldst thou master and break it in a thousand times better way? Then lay upon it the curb and fetters of love; with that thou wilt overcome it easiest of all, and with love thou wilt load it heaviest of all."* He characterises reliance on one's own good works as a thing more Jewish than Christian, and says: "This Jewish way many people have; they stand upon their own ways and works; they would verily have these for their foundation; and when they have done their work, the whole is lost; yet they can neither believe God, nor any one else who tells them they are secretly building on their works and upon their own doings." And he proceeds to say, "I do not mean that we ought to omit good discipline; we should be ever exercising ourselves in it: but we should not build on it, nor rely on it." And he spoke against those who were looking for access to God by such ways as the following, "that they wore hair-shirts, and hair-neckcloths, that they fasted, and watched, and prayed; that they had for forty years been poor men." And he adds: "If you have done all the human works that have ever been done, yet of all this you shall be bare and empty in your ground as those that have done no good work, small or great, other than grace for grace, and what has come from the great mercy of God, without any reservation of confidence in your own preparation."† Ruysbroch, speaking of the outward expression of Christian love, says: "In the showing forth of this love thou wilt observe thy good customs, at the same time also the rules of thy monastic order, good manners, good works, and all appointed and regular outward discipline, according to the commandments of God and the rules and regulations of Holy Church." "If," says he, "thou

* Bas. ed. fol. 14 a; Fr. ed. I. p. 159.

† Ibid. 33 b; Fr. ed. II. pp. 59, 60.

rightly understandest the nature of love, thou wilt govern thyself, and be able easily to overcome the world, and wilt daily die to sin, and lead a life of striving after virtue." Only he requires that the soul should free itself entirely from all outward and creaturely objects, cling to them in no way; that it should freely enter into its own deepest recesses, so as to rise upward from this centre to God, in a total estrangement of this inmost centre from the world. From this centre of its being the soul should sink and lose itself in God. Strive after this alone, that thou become free from form and image, become master of thyself; so thou wilt be able as often as thou chooseth to turn thy heart and eye upward, where thy treasure and thy heart are; and thou wilt preserve one life with Him. Nor wilt thou suffer the grace of God within thee to be idle, but from true love wilt exercise thyself heavenward, in praising God; below, in all forms of virtue and good actions. And, in whatever outward acts thou art employed, let thy heart be free and disengaged from all, so that as oft as thou chooseth, thou mayest be able, through all and above all, to contemplate him whom thou lovest."* "Obedience," he says, "makes men submissive to the commands, precepts, and will of God; subjects sense and the power of sense to the higher reason, so that the man lives becomingly and in conformity to reason. It makes him submissive, also, to the church and its sacraments; to its superiors, and to all the doctrines and rules of the church."† Again, he says: "Show thyself willing and obedient not only to God, but also to the prelates in all good rules and exercises, which are commonly observed in holy church; and this according to the measure of thy powers and with true sobriety, as well as according to the manners and customs of the men with whom thou livest, and also of the country and district where thou dwellest."‡ He represents, it is true, the outward exercises of penance as a subordinate thing, and makes internal penitence the essential matter; but yet he holds the former to be good in its proper place, and remarks, "that we may find

* Ruysbroch, *Speculum Æternæ sa Utis*, Opp. Colon. Agripp. 1692, p. 11, (ed. ann. 1609, p. 21).

† *De Præcipuis quibusdam Virtutibus*, *ibid.* p. 170.

‡ *De Septem Amoris Gradibus*, p. 221.

many, who seem to themselves accomplishing much in the way of penance, when they practise many great, severe, and outward forms of discipline, as, for instance, fastings, watchings, and other like works of penitence; which, indeed, are without doubt well pleasing to God, and necessary for him who does the penance; yet, the truest and best penance, and that by which one gets nearest to God, is to turn, truly and from the heart, to Him, and to every virtue, for God's sake; at the same time, turning entirely away from everything known to be at variance with God, so as to feel a firm assurance in one's self that one cannot be moved, by anything that may happen to do anything of the kind, and then to have a firm confidence in the goodness of God that He will never cease to supply all needful aid.* Respecting fasts, he says: "Rational or spiritual works are to be preferred before barely outward works, and to be held of more account than the latter. Yet to the utmost extent of our capability, love must be maintained by good works. Christ fasted forty days. Imitate him in this, and fast in a spiritual manner, keeping thyself from all sin; and, also, to the extent of thy ability, in a bodily manner."

But although these Friends of God conscientiously adhered to the forms of the church, and by their silent, unobtrusive piety, and their active charity, could hardly fail to secure the confidence and respect of the people, whose contempt the common ecclesiastics had drawn down upon themselves, still they had their opponents; partly those who were zealous to maintain the common position of the church, and whose suspicions were excited by that more liberal spirit of the Friends of God which shone so conspicuously through their conscientious attachment to the church; partly the advocates of a secularised Christianity, who felt themselves annoyed by the more serious Christian life of the Friends of God. Accordingly they were nicknamed after the common fashion in that age of applying some opprobrious epithet to those who, for one reason or another, were looked upon as enthusiasts or pietists; they were called Beghards—people who prayed much. John Ruysbroch says: "Though the *servant* of the Lord shows himself

* De Præc. quibusd. Virt., p. 185.

faithful in outward exercises and works, yet he has no experience of that which the *secret friends* of God feel. And this is the reason why such inexperienced and outward men find fault with those who apply themselves to the internal exercises. They suppose that such persons are wholly idle; like Martha, who complained to the Lord of her sister, that she paid him no attention.* And Tauler, speaking of those among the Jews who were hostile to Christ as if they had hearts of stone, says: "Alas! why should it be, that we still find Christian men who, when they see God's friends in good ways, in good works, immediately harbour ill-will towards them, become at heart bitterly opposed to them, count as nothing their works which they do, and their ways and their life, and invent such glosses about them or against them as to prove themselves to be just like those bad Jews."† In a noticeable passage Tauler speaks against a certain class, whom he thus characterises: "The poor blind people think that the precious sufferings of our Lord Christ were to pass off in sport and without fruit. Their reliance is this, that they stand in fraternity with some spiritual order (the fratres adscripti), that they pray and read; nay," says he, "thou doest all this without love and without devotion, with a distracted heart, so blindly and coldly, that it is a wonder to think of it." He then says: They confessed in words, but not with a whole will and from the bottom of the heart: they received the Lord's body; but it was very much as if one should invite a king into his house, and then place him in an unclean, offensive stall among the swine. It were a thousand times better for them, if they never received it. And if any one took pains to warn them of the danger of their position, they laughed at him and said: "It is all Beghards' talk, or nuns' twaddle."‡ These Friends of God exercised a great influence over the laity, not only by their preaching and attention to common pastoral duties, but it was a part of the system for those among the laity who longed after that higher stage of Christian life set forth by the Friends

* De Calculo, p. 825.

† Bas. ed. fol. 32 b; Fr. ed. II. p. 57.

‡ Bas. ed. fol. 77 a; Fr. ed. II. p. 235. [The Francf. ed., which in general is quite incorrect in its text, has, instead of Begharden, "Bejahrte." Ed.]

of God in their sermons, to surrender themselves entirely up to some individual as their confessor and guide in the spiritual life, and follow his instructions as if it were a voice from heaven. This was simply carrying out the doctrine of those mystics who taught that it was a duty to follow implicitly the guidance of those who were recognised as organs of God. And unquestionably in these times, when the deep-felt and oftentimes wrongly interpreted sense of religious need, the high state of religious excitement in connection with the low state of Christian knowledge, exposed men to dangerous temptations, and the more as their aspirations rose higher; when, by abandoning themselves to their feelings, they would be very likely to fall into dangerous extravagances; earnest, inquiring, but ignorant minds did greatly need the guidance of some prudent individual, experienced in the trials and conflicts of the spiritual life. Well then might Tauler, after describing the dangers which beset him who strove after such an object, add: "Therefore the safer course for those who would fain live for the truth, is to have a friend of God, and submit to be guided by him according to God's Spirit. Eighty miles or more would not be too far to go in search of a friend of God who knew the right way and could direct them in it."* And in another sermon, where he labours to show how difficult it is to attain true renunciation of one's self and of natural things and to betake one's self solely to God in the inmost depths of the spirit, he says: "Therefore entreat the beloved friends of God that they would assist you in it, and then give your whole self simply and solely to God and to the chosen friends of God, that they may carry you along to God with themselves."† In some such relation to Tauler stood a remarkable man, afterward a zealous member of the party of the Friends of God, Rulmann Merswin of Strasburg. This person, who belonged to one of the most respectable families of that city, was a rich broker and merchant. In his fortieth year (1347), after losing his first wife, he contracted a second marriage, and having no issue by either, he with the concurrence of

* Bas. ed. fol. 146 b; Fr. ed. III. p. 122.

† Ibid. 28 b; Fr. ed. I. p. 265.

his second wife resolved to retire wholly from the world. He applied his great wealth to no other purpose than that of founding institutions of Christian charity. He had much to struggle with in endeavouring to attain to a godly life, being too much governed by his momentary feelings. The natural and the divine element were strangely mixed up together in his character. He easily brought himself to believe that certain visions, the product of his own highly-excited feelings and heated imagination, were divine revelations. The excessive mortifications which he imposed on himself impaired his health, and the morbid affections which he thus contracted may perhaps have exerted some disturbing influence both on his feelings and on his intellect. Tauler, who, as we have seen, disapproved of this mode of crucifying the flesh, being chosen by this man as his guide, bade him, as a friend of God, to desist from these immoderate self-tortures, and not destroy his health; for he was extremely anxious lest, by the course he was now pursuing, he might suddenly become insane. Merswin, as he informs us himself, thought it is his duty to obey.* In the year 1353 he composed, in the German language, a widely-circulated eccentric mystical work, under the impulse, as he believed, of a divine call, containing many strange and fanciful notions mixed up with a good deal that is true. It was entitled the *Book of the Nine Rocks*. This work was included, though not in its complete form, among the works of Henry Suso, and ascribed to him as the author.† With great freedom he here describes the corruption of the church through all its orders, from highest to lowest. He says of the popes: "Look around and mark how the popes in these

* We quote from the above-mentioned excellent work of Prof. Schmidt, of Strasburg, to whom we are indebted for an account of this man, eminently characteristic of the times in which he lived, Merswin's own words on the subject: Und in denselben ziten was bruoder Johans tauweler der brodiger min bichter. Der befant ettewas minre uebungen, wanne er nam es ware das ich gar krank in der natuoren geriet werden. Und er vorhte mins houbetes und gebot mir bi gehorsamme das ich mich in keinre uebungen solte me ueben, und mahte mir daran ein zil, und ich muste gehorsam sin. Schmidt, p. 178 note.

† That the work, however, is not to be ascribed to him, but to Merswin, has been proved on documentary evidence by Prof. Schmidt, in his work above cited, p. 180. Compare, also, Illgen's *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*. 1839, Heft. 2, p. 61.

times live and have lived, whether they have not had more regard for themselves, more concern to know how they shall maintain their own state, than how the glory of God may be promoted? And look around and see whether they do not court temporal possessions with a view to advance the interests of their temporal friends, and help on their promotion to temporal honours."* It is deserving of notice that this man was led, by the more liberal character of his mysticism, to question in this book the doctrine that all unbelievers are lost; maintaining that, among the Jews, Turks and pagans, were many men of good life, who would, before their end, be led by a particular inward revelation to the knowledge of a Saviour and to faith in him; and that we shall meet many such in the world to come.† We see by the example of this individual, how laymen as well as clergymen might be enrolled among the Friends of God; and in the case of the former, who were not so strictly educated in the theology of the schools, we see how it might sometimes happen that they would be led, by this freer tendency of the religious spirit, without being conscious of it or intending it, into many unchurchly convictions, and how this might become a channel through which the influence of unchurchly tendencies might be introduced among the Friends of God generally. We cannot be surprised at the fact, therefore, that among the Friends of God there were many sectional differences, from a more strict churchly direction to a tendency bordering on the heretical, or entirely heretical.

The position maintained by those Friends of God, whose inward Christianity made them more free from the influence of the hierarchical spirit, is characteristically presented before us, when we see a priest of the Dominican order, and a famous preacher, placing himself in the relation we have described to a layman who appeared to him more advanced than himself in holy living, and making that layman his guide in the spiritual life. We meet with an ancient account ‡ of a layman living 120 miles from the city of Strasburg, who, by a divine call in a thrice-repeated

* Schmidt, p. 216.

† Ibid. p. 219. This portion is not included in the writings published under the name of Suso.

‡ In the Hist. Tauleri in the Bas. edition, before the Sermons.

vision, was conducted, in the year 1340, to Tauler, then already a preacher of note. In his first interview he requested the latter to preach before him a discourse on the way to Christian perfection. The sermon did not produce the effect which Tauler expected; and the stranger afterwards explained to him that he had not come to learn from him how to attain to the most perfect life, but with the intention and hope of doing him some good. He then proceeded to speak of that internal master, respecting whom Tauler himself had spoken in his sermon. "Know," said he, "that when this same master comes to me, he teaches me more in an hour, than you, and all the teachers who are of time, could teach me if they went on to the last day." And he assured Tauler, to his great amazement, that he must consider him a mere man of books and a Pharisee. The pious, gentle preacher did not let himself grow angry at such language from a layman addressed to a priest and doctor of theology, but instead of disdainfully turning away from him, calmly listened to all he had to say. The layman went on to distinguish two different sorts of Pharisees, the malignant and the well intentioned; those whose doctrines and life, though they were unconscious of it themselves, did not perfectly harmonise; whose preaching consisted more of the letter and of rational knowledge, than of the truth contained in the life and internal experience of the heart; who, though they knew how to discourse finely of pure love to God, and of communion with him, were still entangled in creaturely love, without any true experience as yet of vital communion of the heart with God. Tauler felt himself touched to the quick by many things which the stranger said. He chose him as the friend of God who was to be his guide; got him to prescribe the way to a new spiritual development; retired for a season from his labours in the pulpit; but on returning to his duties found himself so overcome and unmanned by his feelings, as to be unable to utter a word. The preacher who was before so famous, was now laughed at. But afterwards, when he had fully recovered himself, he stood forth with fresh energy and laboured more abundantly than ever. This story, no better authenticated, might be regarded by many as a figment of legendary tradition, a pure fabrication or an intermixture

of poetry and historical truth.* But we have, in this case, at least one example which might teach a lesson of caution to those who would banish from history everything that looks like poetry, and retain the trivial only as matter of historical fact. This story has very recently become established as matter of history on the ground of authentic record.† And we obtain a more familiar acquaintance with the man as an historical personage, who came, according to the legend, from a town 120 miles from Strasburg. He was a person of great influence in that period, named *Nicholas of Basle*. He then belonged to the Waldensian sect, the members of which would, for the reasons already hinted at, be very likely to find in the more liberal Christian tendencies of the Friends of God scattered about in that district, many points of mutual agreement. But it may be commonly remarked that when a determinate spiritual tendency becomes predominant in any period or district, it is wont to impart something of its own peculiar stamp to other spiritual appearances that may happen to possess anything in common with itself, though the two may in other respects differ entirely in character, just as in the physical world a prevailing epidemic will make other forms of disease run into its own form. Thus the Waldensians in the district of the Rhine, did not at that time remain wholly true to their original direction, since this at the outset was a more simply practical one. The predominant spirit of mysticism communicated itself also to them; and there grew up a section of Waldensian Friends of God, which, paying less homage than the others did to the church spirit, developed itself with greater freedom of doctrine in opposition to the dominant church. To this party belonged *Nicholas*, a man who by oral discourses and writings in the Latin and German languages laboured to introduce a more experimental Christianity, and exerted a great and widely-extended influence. At Basle he had heard much about the piety and influence of *Tauler*.‡ But from his Waldensian

* This story, as is well known, has been worked up into a book of great poetic beauty, by Tieck, in his novel "der Schutzgeist."

† By the investigations of Schmidt, in his work before cited, p. 25, note 5.

‡ We see from Schmidt's quotation, p. 29 note, that in a Munich

point of view he might probably be led to conjecture that this famous preacher was after all wanting in true freedom of Christian spirit; and from what he had heard of his pious, humble character, he might perhaps hope to succeed in exercising a wholesome influence on the Christian knowledge and the Christian life of the man. It may well be doubted, indeed, whether Nicholas, who, with a view to extend the sphere of his usefulness in promoting the religious life, rarely mentioned his own anti-churchly tendencies, would say anything to Tauler about his connection with the Waldensians; still it is impossible to know how much confidential intercommunication may have taken place between the two men. And Tauler as long as he lived continued to maintain the most intimate and friendly relations with this layman. This Nicholas of Basle was, as we have said, extremely cautious in disseminating his principles. He laid himself out to work on the minds of the people more particularly by writings in the German language. In a tract composed in the year 1356, he defended the circulation of German writings among the laity against the doubts entertained by many of its expediency. He speaks on this matter also with great moderation. He allows that such doubts were, in some respects, well founded; in respect to writings, namely, which required many explanations in order to be rightly understood, and which therefore, by being misapprehended, might easily lead to error. Such writing belonged exclusively to the priests, and should not be translated into German. But the case stood otherwise with simple, practical, and plainly-composed Christian writings, suited to the understanding and wants of the laity. He says: "Those book-learned men, who would keep the laity from reading these, sought their own glory more than the glory of God." "But," he adds, "where you find teachers, who have no eye to themselves, you should gladly hear them; for whatever such teachers counsel, comes from the Holy Spirit." He says Christian order can never be restored, till men follow the counsel which comes from the Holy Spirit; and

manuscript in the account of Tauler, the words of this unknown layman are found, which are wanting in the printed editions: "Wan mir vil von euer ler daheim ist gesagt."

such cannot be at variance with holy Scripture, for holy Scripture and the Holy Spirit are one. "If," he adds, "a great lord of this world, or a whole district or city should ask me how, as things now stand, men may return to God, and find reconciliation with him, I would advise that they should seek that counsel which comes from the Holy Spirit, whether such counsel proceed from priest or layman."* In all this we may easily recognise the general drift and tendency above described, though there is an attempt to conceal it. We recognise a man who estimated the inward voice of the spirit above all outward authority, and who certainly therefore could not be inclined to pay that authority the same submissive homage with other Friends of God. The mystical bent may undoubtedly have led many to entertain very free opinions respecting the apostles, whose characters they would estimate according to their own peculiar principles of Christian perfection. It would not be strange in such persons to accuse an apostle Paul of boasting too much of his own labours. But Nicholas was widely removed from all this. He says of such, "Mark, my beloved brethren, how some men are scandalised at the words of holy Paul, who was a bright shining light, a full vessel overflowing with lovely humility." All that he said to his brethren, or wrote to them, was suited to the times when Christianity began; and there was need of it too. He wrote from divine love, and never had an eye to himself; in all things he had a single eye to the glory of God. And I believe if the words addressed to John the Baptist had been spoken to the apostle Paul, he would in like manner have answered, "I am not worthy to unloose his shoe's latchet." † This Nicholas directly or indirectly exerted a great influence, as a guide and counsellor in the spiritual life, on many who never had the remotest suspicion of his heretical tendencies. But he could not always succeed in escaping the suspicion of the head of the church; and from some hints which he drops we may understand the perilous situation in which these more free-minded Friends of God sometimes found themselves placed. He writes: "Ah,

* Schmidt, p. 231.

† In a letter to the Strasburg Johannites, in the year 1377, Schmidt, p. 234.

beloved brethren, may God in his infinite goodness, in this present time of Christianity, have pity! For know, the Friends of God are in a great strait. But what is to come of it, they know not, God only knows."* Having succeeded through a long life in escaping the snares of the inquisition,† he undertook when very old, in company with two of his disciples, to make a journey to France, where probably he was in the habit of going to disseminate his doctrines. At Vienne, he was arrested by the inquisition, together with one of his disciples; and as nothing could induce him to consent to a recantation, he was handed over, as an heretical Beghard, to the civil authorities, and died at the stake.

The highest regions of the interior life, in souls where impure elements rule, are exposed to the most dangerous perturbations; the deepest truths of religion, when they are not purely apprehended, may intermingle indistinguishably with the most dangerous misconceptions. It is often but a very thin and subtle line which separates truth from error. Thus the doctrine of these Friends of God respecting man's ability and duty to go back to the deepest grounds of his being; respecting an inward concentration of the mind withdrawn from every thing creaturely; utter renunciation of self, and absorption in God, was liable to pass over into very serious errors. Where the longing for union with God was not ever accompanied side by side with a consciousness of the self-subsistence of the creaturely spirit, and the infinite exaltation of God above the world, with a consciousness of sin standing in contrariety with the holiness of God, with a humility never forgetting for a moment the strict line that separates the creature from the Creator, the sobriety and modesty of true humility; where an unbridled imagination, a speculative spirit ignorant of its proper limits, where the intoxication of a soul governed entirely by its feelings, intermingled with the natural and the divine, and took complete possession of the man; in a

* Letter to the Strasburg Johannites, &c. p. 235.

† The Dominican John Nieder, of Suabia, says of him in his book, already mentioned, *Formicarius*, p. 304: *Acutissimus enim erat et verbis errores coloratissime velare noverat. Idcirco etiam manus inquisitorum diu evaserat et multo tempore.*

word, where the mind, instead of holding fast to God revealed in Christ, would sink itself, without any mediation, in the unfathomable abyss of God unrevealed; in all these cases and the like, they who knew not how to guard against such dangers, by strict watchfulness over themselves, plunged into the gulf of pantheistic self-deification. Thus arose that wildly fanatical pantheistic mysticism, which was for getting beyond Christ, beyond all positive revelation, all humanisation of the divine, as we see it exemplified particularly among a portion of the so-called Beghards, of whom we shall say more hereafter, as well as among the so-called Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit,—a community already characterised by their name, the advocates of that false liberty, grounded in pantheism, which scorned all the settled landmarks of holy order. The opposition is strongly marked between the theistic Friends of God of whom we have thus far been speaking, and the pantheistic class. While in the former we may see foretokens of a direction which led to the Reformation; in the latter we see, no less clearly, the foretokens of a thoroughly antichristian tendency, hostile to everything supernatural, every intimation of a God above the world; a tendency which contained, first in the form of mysticism, the germ of absolute rationalism and the deification of reason,—a tendency which, after many attempts, often repelled and continually renewed, was eventually to appear in a contest for life and death with Christianity itself. As the theistic element distinguished the first class of the Friends of God from the second, so was it also a distinguishing mark between the two classes, that by the first it was held necessary to unite the contemplative with the practical life, the intuitive absorption in God with active love; while by the others, on the contrary, a pantheistic quietism that despised all active labour, was extolled as the highest perfection. A sharply-defined boundary may, indeed, be observed between these two ground-tendencies, wherever they are fully and consciously expressed; but these tendencies did not always so exhibit themselves as to be easily distinguished. Many, by pushing the above-mentioned ground-intuitions and tendencies of the religious life into an extreme, by running into a sort of speculation

which was mixed up with the feelings, and failed of paying due respect to the proper limits of all speculation, by a certain intoxication of self-forgetting love that discarded calm reflection, were unconsciously betrayed into effusions and expressions upon which that wild fanatical pantheism might afterwards seize and fasten itself. We reckon among such that Master Eckhart, of the Dominican order, whom Tauler mentions as his teacher. This person, a Saxon by origin, stood in high estimation with his order, having been made first provincial of the Dominican order for Saxony, in the year 1304, when it was found expedient, on account of the extent of territory, to separate this part of the order from that belonging to the rest of Germany and constitute it a province by itself.* We may mention in particular, for an example, that passage of Eckhart, where he describes God's essence as being the darkness from which all things sprung, and to which they are to return: "Verily God himself rests not there where he is the first beginning; he rests there where he is an end and a rest of all being. Not that this being comes to nothing, but it is there completed in its ultimate end according to its highest perfection. What is this ultimate end? It is the hidden darkness of the eternal Godhead, and is unknown, and will never be known. God there remains unknown to himself; and the light of the Eternal Father, this has eternally shone in there, and the darkness comprehendeth not the light."† For another example, take his words on the Logos: "That is no longer an essence, then, which gives all things an essence and life, when the Son is generated from the heart of the Father, eternally to bring in again all things which in him have gone forth." He cites, as referring to this, the words of Christ: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me," and then adds: "The Holy Spirit proceeds forth as a love to make our spirit one with him. Therefore the Son brings in again with him all things which in him have gone forth. And therefore the Holy Spirit comes in again with all that which he has spiritualised."‡ Eckhart defines as true righteousness

* Quetif et Echard Script. ord. Prædic., Paris 1719, tom. I. fol. 507, VI.

† Eckhart's Sermons, in an appendix to the Hamburg edition (1621) of Tauler's Sermons, p. 23.

‡ Ibid. p. 10.

those works only which proceed, without reflection, from the inward constraining influence of the divine life. "The just man," he says, "searches not into his own works. For they who seek for anything in their own works are all servants and hirelings; or they who work for some wherefore, whether it be blessedness, or eternal life, or the kingdom of heaven, or whatever else in time or in eternity, all such are not righteous. For righteousness consists in this, that a man work without respect to a *wherefore*. And hence if thou wouldst be *in-formed* or *over-formed* in righteousness, think not of thy works, nor image to thyself any wherefore, either in time or in eternity, either reward or blessedness, either this thing or that thing. For all the works thou performest from the movement of the imagination, or out of the imagination, verily *these* works are all dead. Nay, may I say it? but I will say it, and it is this: that if thou dost image to thyself even God, whatever thou doest from respect to *this*, I speak truly, thy works are all dead; they are faults, they are nothing, and they are not barely nothing, but thou destroyest by them even the works that are good."* We may mention, furthermore, that proposition, so variously abused by fanatical pantheism, that all which God works, man works with him. Accordingly he asserts that the good works which a man performs while in mortal sin, are not on that account lost; evil and good works, *in themselves considered*, and the time in which they are done, are all lost; they have no abiding permanence except on the ground of the spirit from which they proceed, and from this ground come the good works also which may be done in mortal sin, and not from the man who is in this mortal sin.† There were extracted from Eckhart's writings and sermons twenty-six propositions connected with a pantheistic mode of thinking, or verging upon such a mode

* Eckhart's Sermons, &c. p. 4.

† His own words are: So then labour and time are lost together; bad and good they are all lost at once, if they have no abiding in the spirit, and no being nor place in themselves. If the man does good works whilst he is in mortal sin, yet he does not the works of mortal sin; if the works are good, the mortal sins are evil. He works them out of the ground of his spirit, which, in itself, is naturally good; but *he* is not in grace. In a Sermon, in Mone's, "Anzeiger für Kunde der teutschen Vorzeit." Jahrgang 1837, p. 72.

of thinking, which found their common point of union in assertions similar to those above quoted; and these were formally condemned. But as Eckhart gave up to this decision, retracting those propositions in every sense in which they were found heretical or scandalous, and in general submitted himself to be corrected by the pope and the church, no further steps were taken against him personally, and he was permitted to end his days in peace. But when it was found that similar doctrines were widely disseminated among mystical societies, pope John XXII. put forth, in the year 1329, a bull, complaining with justice that such doctrines were held forth in sermons to the simple people.* Yet in vindication of the memory of the departed Eckhart, he immediately subjoined what has been stated above. We may here quote a few of the most remarkable of these propositions. It was asserted that God and the world are correlative conceptions, and that it may be said God created the world from eternity; † that in all works, good as well as evil, in their guilt and their punishment, God is in like manner manifested and glorified; that he who prays for this or that particular thing, prays for what is bad in a bad way, because he prays for a negation of the good and a negation of God, and prays that God may be denied to him. In those who *seek* for nothing, neither honour, nor profit, nor devotion, nor holiness, nor reward, nor kingdom of heaven, but have renounced all, even that which is their own, in such God is glorified. We are transformed wholly into God, and transformed into him in the same way as, in the sacrament, the bread is transformed into the body of Christ. I become thus transformed into him because it is he himself who brings it about that I am his. All that the Father gave to his Son when born into human nature, all this he has given to me; I except nothing here, neither unity nor holiness: but he has given all to me as to

* Quæ docuit quam maxime coram vulgo simplici in suis prædicationibus. Comp. Raynaldi Ann. at the year 1329, no. 70 and 71.

† Interrogatus quandoque, quare Deus mundum non prius produxerit, respondit tunc, sicut nunc, quod Deus non potuit primo producere mundum, quia res non potest agere antequam sit, unde quam cito Deus fuit, tam cito mundum creavit; item concedi potest, mundum fuisse ab æterno. Ibid.

himself. All that the holy Scriptures say of Christ is true also of every good and godlike man. Everything that belongs to the divine essence, belongs also to the godly and righteous man; therefore such a person does all that God does, and with God created the heavens and the earth, and is a begetter of the eternal Word, and God can do nothing without such a person. The good man must make his own will so identical with God's will as to will all that God wills; because God, in a certain sense, wills that I should have sinned, I ought not to wish that I had not sinned. God has not, strictly speaking, laid down rules for outward action. All creatures are purely nothing; I say not that they are something, but purely nothing. There is in the soul something uncreated, and exalted above all that is created; if the whole soul were this, it would be itself uncreated and exalted above all that is created; and this is *spirit*. God is neither good, nor the best; it is just as incorrect to call him so, as to call him black or white.*

We may now consider how Ruysbroch and Tauler contended against the pantheistic and quietistic views, the mistaken strivings after freedom, which appeared in the forms we have described. The former says:† “We may meet with godless and devilish men, who affirm that they are God or Christ, and that their hands created heaven and earth, and on their hands all these things depend; and that they are above all sacraments of the church, that they need them not, and wish them not. The ordinances of the church, and what the holy fathers have recorded on parchment, they despise; but their own godless heresy, and a life which is bound by no ordinances or institutions, and the beastly customs invented by themselves, they hold to be very holy and excellent. And yet they have banished from themselves the love and fear of God; and they disdain the knowledge of good and evil. But they have found within themselves something transcendent, above reason; and they have wholly drunk in the opinion, that on the day of final judgment all rational creatures, evil as well as

* This translation does not correspond, it is true, to the Latin words: *Ac si ego album vocarem nigrum*; but I conjecture from the sense that it should properly read: *album vocarem aut nigrum*.

† *Speculum Æternæ Salutis*. Opp. p. 27 (ed. 1609, p. 50).

good, angels and bad spirits, will pass over into a certain essence, transcending representation, and that this essence is God, in its nature blessed, but without knowledge or will. Since the beginning of time, there has never been invented a more senseless or perverse opinion than this. And yet many suffer themselves to be deceived by it, even of such as seem to be spiritually minded, when, in fact, they are worse than the demons themselves. For what they affirm is contradicted by pagans and by Jews, by nature, law, reason, all that Scripture teaches concerning good and bad angels." Ruysbroch next proceeds to distinguish between the ideal and the real being of rational creatures. "The life," says he, "that we in the divine idea, have in God, is one with himself, and in its own nature a blessed one. But besides this, we have another in common with the angels; a life created by God from nothing; one which will always endure; and such an one cannot be a blessed one in its own nature; but it can become a blessed one by God's grace, if we attain to grace; that is, to faith, hope, knowledge, and love. If we attain to these, we practise those virtues which are pleasing to God, and thus rise above ourselves, and become united with God; yet a creature never becomes God." "We may meet with many," says he, in another place,* "who imagine they have experienced within themselves a certain true life, above all practice of virtue; and that they have combined a created and uncreated life, God and the creature at once; with regard to all which we should know that we have a certain eternal life in the original type of the divine wisdom. And this life ever abides in the Father, and proceeds forth from Him with the Son, and flows back into the same essence with the Holy Spirit; and thus we live in an eternal manner in the original type of the Holy Trinity and of the unity of the Father." But from this he distinguishes the created life, "which springs from the same wisdom in which God knows his power, wisdom, and goodness; and this is the image or copy of the former, by which the former lives in us. By virtue of this image of the former, our life has three properties, whereby we resemble that original type. For

* Opp. p. 29.

our essence ever contemplates the original of our uncreated essence, lives in it, and feels drawn towards it, where we live from God, live to God, live in God, and God in us. This, then, he regards as the hidden, primordial ground of creaturely spirits, whereby they are united in connection with that archetypal being to God. "This," he says, "is the true ground of life, and is in us all, as to essence, by virtue of mere nature. For it is exalted above hope, faith, grace, and all exercises of virtue, and therefore its being, life, and action are one. But this life is hidden in God and in the essence of our souls. And because this dwells in us all by nature, so, many may, in a certain way, even without grace or faith, and without any exercise of virtue whatever, come to some knowledge of it by natural reason." Accordingly, he now proceeds to trace the misconceptions of those pantheists to their one-sided mode of apprehending that hidden primordial ground separate from the supernatural light of grace. "There are," says he, "men given to idle reverie, with introverted eyes, turned away from sensible images to their own simple essence; and when so turned they deem themselves blessed, holy: some even look upon themselves as very God. And they care about nothing, be it good or evil, if they can but rid themselves of forms and images, and find and possess themselves in the pure repose of their essence." So after speaking of the above distinction between the ideal and the real being of the creaturely spirit, he says: * "And yet we are not the wisdom of God; for then we should have created ourselves, which is impossible; and to believe this, is godless and heretical. For all that we are and have, we have from God and not from ourselves." Again, he says: † "In communion with God we are one spirit and one life with him: but still we continue to be creatures. For though we have been transfigured by his light, and absorbed by his love, yet we still know and feel that we are something other than and different from Him. Hence it is that we feel ourselves constrained ever to look up to him and to strive towards him; and this act will abide eternally with us. For never will it be in our power to lose our created essence and so

* Opp. p. 31.

† Ibid.

purely to pass out from it that we shall not still, and through all eternity, continue to be something different from God. For though the Son of God partook of our nature, yet he by no means made us God." How personal consciousness still continues even at the highest point reached by contemplation, in soaring upward to God, he shows thus:* "Though we may rise above reason, still we are not without reason; hence we feel that we touch and are touched; love and are beloved; we are continually renewed, and return back into ourselves; we go and return, like lightning. For by love we contend and brace ourselves, as if stemming a torrent, because we have not power to press through and pass beyond the creaturely essence." "Although," says he, in another place,† "love absorbs the soul, consumes it, and even demands of it what is impossible, and although the soul longs to resolve itself into love as into nothing, yet it can never perish but will always endure. "I would, however," says he,‡ "call to the reader's recollection that, where it was asserted by me that we are one with God, it is to be understood that we are one with him in love, not in nature and essence. For God's essence is uncreated, but ours is created; which makes an infinite difference. Hence, we may indeed be united one with the other, but never become one. And if our own essence were annihilated, we could neither know, nor love, nor be blessed." And again, in the remarkable passage § where he ascribes the fall of the angels to their falling in love with their own nature, and thinking they did not need the supernatural gifts of God, he adds: "And yet still worse than all evil spirits are those hypocritical men who despise God, and his gifts, and Holy Church and all her sacraments, and holy Scripture, and all exercises of virtue, and say they lead a life exalted above every other kind, something quite transcendent, and that they have sunk themselves into the same repose as they had before they were created, and that they have no knowledge, no love, no will, no craving, no exercises of virtue, but are rid of them all. And because they would sin, and commit foul crimes without compunction of conscience, they say

* Opp. p. 31. † Ibid. p. 34. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. p. 27.

besides, that in the day of judgment good and evil spirits, godless and pious men will all be transformed together into the simple essence of God; and then all would in this enjoy an essential blessedness, without knowledge or love of God; and then God would neither know nor love himself nor any creature." Furthermore, we should here give prominent place to that profoundly thoughtful, truthful description of a one-sided intellectualised mysticism, divorced of all vitality of feeling, where he says:* "The most dangerous temptation besets those who, without exercise of the virtues, find within themselves, by imageless, naked intelligence, the essential being of their souls, and possess the same in a certain naked repose of their spirit and their nature. These sink into a certain empty and blind repose of their essence; they do not concern themselves in the least about performing good works and exercises, external or internal; and all internal acts, as willing, knowing, loving, longing, and all active tendency to God they despise and spurn. If these had but striven for one short hour of their life, with pure love and a holy disposition after God, and had a taste of the true virtues, they could never have fallen into this blindness and into this unbelief. Assuredly, our Lord and Saviour Christ himself, all classes of the blessed spirits, and holy men, will, through all eternity, act, love, long, thank, praise, have will and consciousness; nor can they, without these acts, be blessed. God himself, if he did not act, would not be God, and could not be blessed. Grievously therefore do they err, these poor men, who are to be mourned over with many tears, who slumber and sink down in this mistaken repose of their souls. . . . Hence comes a perverted freedom. They are simple people, without all practice of the virtues, and who remain at a very far remove from any true mortification of their nature. Or if they have sought long and much to exercise themselves in great penitence, still they have done it without love and without a pure disposition towards God." Perhaps we may infer from these last words, that many who had taken great pains in the practice of self-mortification, afterwards fell away

* De Quatuor Subtilib. Tentationib., p. 196 (ed. 1609, p. 360).

into this mystic bent of apathy. "It is the manner of this people," says he, "to sit quiet in one spot, with no sort of occupation, retiring into themselves with an idle sensuousness, stript bare of all images. And because they are without the practice of the virtues, and without love through union with God, hence they do not penetrate into themselves, but reposing in their own essence, convert this into their god or idol. Meanwhile, they fancy themselves one with God." "Thus we are," says he, in another place,* "without any mediation, in a way exalted above all the virtues, united with God, where, in the highest point of our created essence, we bear his image within us; still, we ever continue to be like him, and united with him in ourselves, through his grace and by our virtuous life." He says:† "We may find a certain race of hypocrites. They would be regarded as persons standing in a passive relation to God; they would be inactive, and merely certain instruments of God. They affirm, therefore, that they stand only in a passive relation, without any action of their own; and those works which God produces in them as his blind instruments, are more excellent and possessed of greater merit than the works of other men. They affirm that they are incapable of committing sin, because God alone works all things in them, and only what God wills and nothing else is done by them. They imagine that everything to which they feel inwardly impelled, whether it be in agreement with virtue or opposed to it, proceeds from the motions of the Holy Spirit." From this class Ruysbroch distinguishes another as a still worse one, who pushed this pantheistic quietism to such an extreme as to believe themselves not only raised by it above all religious rites, all the ordinances of the church, all obedience to the church, in their own imagined perfection, their denudation from all creaturely properties and their absorption into God, but also empowered by it to annul all distinctions of right and wrong, and justify every species of irregularity, provided no disturbance were offered to the repose of the spirit. We are reminded by all this of similar phenomena,

* Lib. de Septem Amoris Gradib., p. 224.

† De Ornatu Spiritual. Nuptiar., p. 275.

which have occurred among many Gnostic sects and in ancient India. He tells us first in what respects they agreed with those before mentioned: "They sit still and idle, without any exertion of virtue or good works; and this to such extent as that they will neither praise God, nor thank him; nor know, will, or love him, nor pray to him or long after him. They imagine that they already possess everything which they could pray for; and that they are already poor in spirit, as they are without will of their own, and have renounced everything, and live without any choice or purpose of their own. They imagine they are rid of everything and superior to everything. They have already attained to all for which the various institutions and rites of the church have been founded. As they themselves pretend, no being, not even God, can give anything to them, or take aught from them. For according to their own judgment they are beyond all exercises, all rites of worship, and all the virtues, and have attained to a certain pure repose, where they are free from all the virtues. And they say, that to be thus free in repose from the virtues, requires greater pains and exertions than to attain to the virtues themselves. For this reason they would enjoy freedom, obey nobody, neither pope, nor bishops, nor prelates. And though they put on outwardly the mask of a certain obedience, yet inwardly they are subject to no one, neither in will nor in action. For from all which Holy Church does and observes, from all this they hold themselves exempted, and will have nothing to do with it. And this is their opinion—so long as a man takes pains to acquire virtues, and seeks to fulfil the will of God, he is not perfect; since he is still seeking to acquire virtues, and has learnt nothing as yet of this his spiritual poverty. And they consider themselves exalted above all the orders of the world of spirits and all the hosts of the saints, and every reward which could possibly be merited; and, therefore, they suppose that they can merit nothing more, they can make no farther progress in virtue, nor commit any more sins, since they are without will of their own, and have surrendered their spirits to God in repose, and hence have so become one with God as to be altogether nothing in themselves. Therefore, they affirm, every thing is allow-

able to them which their bodies may lust after, since reduced back to the state of innocence they have no law prescribed to them. Therefore, when their corporeal nature lusts after anything, whatever it may be, and they feel that the tranquillity of their spirits is disturbed by the non-gratification of this desire they give up to their nature. Therefore they give themselves no concern about observing fasts or festivals, except when, for men's sake, they do otherwise. For in all things they live without conscience, holding that there is nothing which is not permitted them." "I hope," says he, "that we shall find but few of this sort of men; but they, whoever they are, that belong to their number, are the worst of men; and seldom, if ever, do they come to their senses; in the mean time, evil spirits get possession of them." He says, that they were hard to be reached by arguments. And Tauler, after pointing out how the contemplative life should pass over into the active—both being in essence one—contends against these advocates of a one-sided, contemplative bent. "There are, again," says he,* "certain men who set value only on contemplation, and set no value on reality, and say that they need not exercise, need not virtue; they have passed beyond it." And he holds up to such the words of Christ respecting the seed cast into good ground, which brought forth a hundred fold; and Matth. iii. 10.

Having thus explained this general opposition of the ground-tendencies of the so-called Friends of God, we will proceed to enter more at large into the characteristics of the above-mentioned representatives of the more pure and sober bent. The first to be noticed here is *John Ruysbroch* of Brussels, who being, as we have seen from his writings, a zealous opponent of that fanatical, pantheistic bent, had already, before retiring from the world, great trials to endure from the opposition of a wife belonging to the sect of the free spirit. She was one of those who laboured to disseminate their doctrines by the circulation of mystic writings in the vulgar language, and had formed around her a large party, whose hatred Ruysbroch incurred by the zeal with which he contended against this fanatical bent, so

* Bas. ed. fol. 15 b; Fr. ed. I. p. 123.

connected with sensual extravagances. Ruysbroch was much sought after by many belonging to districts on the Rhine, Strasburg, Basle, and France, and consulted for spiritual advice.

The writings of Ruysbroch evince—and the same thing is apparent also from the story of his life—that his contemplative habits did not hinder him from coming frequently into contact with his contemporaries. We find, therefore, that he was possessed of a profound knowledge of the religious condition of his contemporaries; he understood the dangers that threatened to come in from this source, and sought to guard against them. Though the externalisation of the religious element and superstition were, in this period, the chief disturbers of the religious spirit, yet Ruysbroch knew how to detect the infidelity, also, that went along with them. This was, indeed, at first, wrapt up and concealed under the extravagances of that mysticism, that false inwardness and passivity, which Ruysbroch, as we have seen, so vigorously contended against; but we find hints in his writings, that, independent of this, the prevailing worldliness of spirit that cramped every movement of the higher life, had called forth a decided infidelity, which may have been but confirmed the more by the antagonism of the prevailing superstition. We know not but we should be thinking of some such root, rather than the aberrations of mysticism, when Ruysbroch, contending against such as denied everything supernatural, says: * “They who lie without shame under mortal sins, care neither about God nor his grace, but esteem the virtues as nothing, spiritual life as hypocrisy or deception, and listen with disgust to all that is said about God or the virtues; convinced that there is no God and no heaven or hell. Hence it is that they want to know about nothing but what strikes the senses:” and when he speaks of those bad Christians, † who blaspheme Christ and set at naught his sacraments, we meet with expressions in his writings which, rent from their connection with his general drift and scope, separated from those passages where, as we have seen, he so emphatically con-

* De Calculo, p. 283.

† Specul. Ætern. Salut. p. 27.

tends against pantheism, might be misconstrued as an inclination to that error; as where he says:* “God dwells after the like true manner, as to his essence, in the wicked and the good, for he is the creator and preserver of all beings, and nearer and more within them than they are to themselves; he is the essence of their essence.” So when he describes it as the highest position to be reached in time or eternity; “when we have the feeling and inward consciousness beyond all knowledge and science, and of a certain infinite, fathomless unknown; when we are dead to, and rise above all the names which we give to God or to creatures, or pass beyond them into something eternal, transcendent, which is incapable of being designated by any name, and lose ourselves therein; and when above all the exercises of virtue in us, we perceive and experience a certain eternal repose, wherein there is no activity; and above all blessed spirits, an infinite and immeasurable bliss, in which we are all one, and this unity itself, so far as it is possible to the creature, is the same that blessedness is in itself; and when, finally, we see all blessed spirits merged, blended, and lost in that essence which is higher than all substance.” † But what preserved Ruysbroch, who, as we may see from the language above cited, in striving to pass beyond the limits of temporal consciousness and to anticipate the intuitions of the life eternal, might so easily have lost himself in those abysses, what preserved such a man from the pantheistic error, was the power of the moral element within him, it was that which Christ was to him, the connection of his Christian consciousness with his consciousness of God, his way of knowing God in Christ, his way of clinging to God revealed and to his word, and his profound recognition of this essence of personality; his way of connecting his faith in a personal supra-mundane God with the consciousness of his own personality. The characteristic thing in that mystic pantheism is, in fact, nothing more nor less than will, exalting itself above Christ, and the want of a strong moral sense. We may notice, therefore, what Ruysbroch says on this point: ‡ “We cannot redeem ourselves; but if with all the

* De Præcip. quibusd. Virtut., p. 179.

† De Sept. Amor. Grad., p. 226. ‡ Specul. Ætern. Salut., p. 14.

capabilities we have we follow after Christ, then *our* acts are united with *his* acts, and become ennobled by his grace. Therefore has Christ redeemed us by his *own* acts and not by ours, and by his own merits has he made us free. But if we would possess and feel this freedom, then must *his* spirit kindle *our* spirits to love, and plunge us in the abyss of his love and most free goodness, where our spirits are baptized and endued with freedom, and united with *his* spirit, and that which constitutes our will dies to itself, and is absorbed in his will, so that we would will nothing but what God wills; for God's will has become our will—which is the root of true love. Accordingly, he says:* “Christ is our mirror and our rule, the rule for the right direction of our whole life. His humanity is the light of the divine glory whereby heaven and earth are enlightened, and will be to all eternity.” “Though God,” says he, † “has withdrawn and hidden himself from thy view, yet thou art by no means hidden from him. For he lives in thee and has left thee his mirror and his image, the Lord Jesus Christ, his Son, that thou mightest carry him in thy hands, before thine eyes and in thy heart. . . . The kingdom of heaven is Jesus Christ himself, who by his grace lives in us; and the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and, by the power of Christ who lives in us and fights with us, we take it by force.” ‡ He understands how to seize the divine nature and the human nature of Christ in their intimate connection. “Because,” says he, § “Christ was in respect of that which is highest in him ever of the same will with the Father, though his nature was sensible to sorrow and anguish, yet he showed obedience, and having overcome the will of the sensuous part, he said to the Father, ‘Not my will, but thine, be done.’” We have already observed how Ruysbroch contended against that one-sided contemplative bent. And though he, || too, gave great prominence to the contemplative life of the spirit, yet he ever regarded love as the highest, and in this he finds the union of the contemplative and the practical habit. “If one,” says he, “should soar to a height of con-

* Specul. Ætern. Salut. p. 32. † Ibid. p. 13. ‡ Ibid. p. 15.
§ Ibid. p. 14. || De Præcip. quibusd. Virtut., p. 181.

temptation equal to any which Peter or Paul or any other of the apostles ever reached, but should be informed that some poor man stood in need of a warm broth, or of any other service, it would be far better that he should for the moment awake out of the repose of that contemplation and bestow aid on that poor man in true charity, than that he should surrender himself to the sweetness of his present contemplation; for God's commandments are not to be neglected for the sake of any exercise, however great it may be. Whoever," says he in another place,* "would give himself up solely to contemplation, and neglect his neighbour in distress, has never attained to true intercourse with himself and the contemplative life, but is miserably deceived in his whole mode of life. And against such people it behoves us to be much on our guard." He affirms that for the sake of Christian perfection, one need not retire into solitude or to holy places. A man, truly just, will be so in *all places* and with all men; and the same holds true of the unjust. But he is to be called a just man, who, after a true manner, perceives God, and this in all places, even in the public ways, and with all mortals no otherwise than in the church, or in his chamber, or in whatever other place he may have shut himself up." And he cites in illustration the words of Christ to the Samaritan woman, (John iv. 21.) "Men," says he,† "ought not to look so much at what they do, as at what they are. For if they are good at bottom, their deeds will easily be good also. Many place holiness in action; but this is not best; since holiness is, if I may so express it, to be placed in *being*. For however holy our works may be, they do not, as works, make us holy; but so far as we are holy ourselves, and our foundation is a holy one, so far we make our works, also, holy; and whether it be eating or drinking, sleeping, waking, praying, conversing, or fasting, so far as it is done from greater love to God and to the endless glory of God, so far is it also something good. For the greater the love with which a man devotes himself to God, the holier is his foundation."‡ Ruysbroch was opposed

* Specul. Ætern. Salut., pp. 25 et 26.

† De Præcip. quibusd. Virtut., p. 176.

‡ Ibid. p. 173.

also to the externality of the church tendency manifested in penance and such matters, as a one-sided, subjective bent. He says:* "Though many frequent the choir day and night, read a great deal, sing, multiply words in prayer, and perform the like good works, yet these are valueless both to themselves and before God: because, with thoughts dissipated on outward objects, they 'walk after the flesh and not after the spirit.' Outward poverty," says he,† "separated from the internal exercises and virtues, cannot find this way to God. If, on the other hand, one makes a wise and conscientious use of riches, if for the glory of God he liberally distributes them to the poor, he may find this way, which remains an unknown one to hypocrites who are poor against their will." "We may meet with many who lead a strict and austere life, and give themselves up to astonishing acts of penance, but their only end is to gain a great reputation for sanctity and a great reward. For natural love turns back upon itself, and longs after honour in this life, and a large reward in the next."‡ "Again," he says.§ "he who busies himself more with those exercises which take up the whole heart and soul, and bestows more attention on the multiplicity of works, than on their essence and end, and clings to his exercises, to sacraments, symbols, and outward usages, more than to the truth signified by them, he continues to be an outward man, swallowed up in mere doing; but the same man in his good works, if they are united with a simple temper, will obtain eternal life." "Every good work," says he,|| "however trifling, if done with love and a simple disposition, out of respect to God, obtains likeness to God and eternal life in him: for a simple disposition brings the scattered powers of the soul into unity, and places the spirit itself in union with God." One thing characterising the ethical element in Ruysbroch, which secured him against the danger of pantheism, is the prominent place he gives to the will, which he describes as the mainspring, on which all development of the higher life

* De Quat. Subtil. Tentation, p. 195.

† De Sept. Amor. Grad. p. 220.

‡ De Ornatu Spiritual. Nuptiar., p. 274.

§ Ibid. p. 267.

|| Ibid. p. 266, (ed. 1609, p. 486).

depends. "All virtue, and all goodness," says he,* "depend on the will. He, therefore, wants nothing, who truly possesses a right will. If, then, thou longest to have humility, love, or any other of the virtues, thou hast but to will it in all seriousness and with thy whole soul, and of a certainty thou hast it, and none can deprive thee of it, be he God or man, if but thy will be right and godlike." And in another place,† he says what could hardly be acceptable to the advocates of the common view held by the church: "If one should maintain that a perfect will, without works, is worth as much as a good will, with works, at the same time, I should not be disposed strenuously to dispute such an opinion." A good will is born of the Holy Spirit itself; and, therefore, a good will is the living and free instrument whereby God accomplishes what he wills. A good will in man is the love shed abroad in him, through which he honours God, and cherishes and exercises all the virtues. Our good will is God's grace, and our supernatural life whereby we get the victory over all sins. A good will, united with the divine grace, makes us free, lifts us above ourselves, and unites us with God in the contemplative life. A good will, in its internal communion with God, is the spirit crowned with the eternal life; and when it is directed outwards, it is lord of all external actions; and the same is accordingly the kingdom of God, where God reigns by his grace. It includes love, and, lifted above itself, is blessed, united with God."‡ Much spiritual experience and sober sense are evinced in what Ruysbroch says, in reproving that tendency to self-reflection and tacit repose in the feelings, whereby many in these times were led astray—a tendency noticed by chancellor Gerson, who, describing the dangers of the inner life of the soul, in his times, says:§ "The *excessive* hunting after and brooding over feelings has deceived many." Now, when, for various reasons, such persons came to find the current of their religious feelings dried up, and to experience a dearth in their inner life, they were easily led to think themselves forsaken of God, and

* De Præcip. quibusd. Virtut., p. 180.

† Ibid. p. 181.

‡ Specul. Ætern. Salut., p. 29.

§ Fefellit multos nimia sensimentorum conquisitio.

fell into despondency. He says many things on this subject having an important bearing on the religious life of his contemporaries. He speaks of people, "Who strove after many special favours, had their particular prayers, and requested this and that thing of God. Hence, they were often deceived. God permitted the things they desired to be given them by evil spirits; while they, however, ascribed the answer to their own holiness, and believed they deserved it all. Nor should we wonder at this, since they suffer under the distemper of pride, and are neither touched nor enlightened by God. They cling, therefore, to themselves; a trifling comfort rejoices them beyond measure, because they are not aware of their great deficiencies. They are bent on seeking after spiritual enjoyments, which may well be called a spiritual debauch, because it is an inordinate desire of natural love, which always has prime regard to itself, and seeks its own advantage.* The effects of love often seem of great importance, as triumphant joy, devotion, and the like; but these are not always the more desirable and better states of feeling, for they may exist without true love. *Nature* is often wont to bestow such sweetness of temper, or by God's permission, even the spirit of all evil may excite such feelings in a man. Nor is he to be called a more holy man than others, who abounds in such feelings. Hence, it is our duty to inquire whether such feelings have been bestowed by God, and for what purpose. For such feelings, God, in his love, is often wont to bestow, for the purpose of stimulating the soul to aim at something higher and of keeping it in the right direction of life. But as he, on whom they are bestowed, makes progress in true love, he gradually pays less regard to such sweetness of the feelings. While he maintains his fidelity, however, in such times of refreshment, the Christian should still be watchful, and consider whether it flows from true love; and even if it be clear that such is the case, yet it is not for this reason the best thing, as will be evident if we reflect that such enjoyments must ever be regarded as of far less value than any service, bodily or spiritual, which we can bestow on

* De Ornatu Spiritual. Nuptiar., p. 274.

another." * In respect to the consciousness of spiritual dearth, he says : † " If thou sometimes feelest within thee a certain stubbornness of nature, a troubled heart and an oppressive burden ; if thou feelest thyself deprived of all taste for spiritual things ; if thou appearest to thyself deserted of God, poor, and destitute of all comfort ; if thou supposest thyself suffering under a disgust of all external and internal exercises, and feelest thyself depressed by such a load, as if thou must sink to the earth ; be not for all this perplexed in thy soul, but leave thyself in the hands of the Lord, and let it only be thy prayer that God's will may be done, and that all should be subservient to his glory. Believe me, the dark cloud will soon be dissipated, and the radiance of the beaming sun of our Lord Jesus Christ will be poured over thee with a more excellent comfort and a more excellent grace than thou hast ever felt before ; and this on account of thy self-renunciation and thy humble resignation under all the load laid upon thee." Accordingly, he looks upon all such sufferings of the soul as an exercise of self-denial, a training to a total surrendry of the heart to God, with the renunciation of self and of all creatures ; and for consolation and example he adverts to the state of soul in Christ, when he uttered those words on the cross, " My God, why hast thou forsaken me !" which such persons doubtless know how to understand better than all others. " In order," says he, ‡ " that we may not only bear such things with equanimity from men, but also patiently suffer the rod of our Lord himself, when he withdraws the comfort of his presence, removing so far from us, that it seems as if a wall separated between Him and us ; and if we come in our distress for comfort and help, placing himself towards us as if he shut his eyes upon us and would neither see nor hear us, leaving us to struggle alone with our sufferings and sorrows as he himself, too, was forsaken of his Father ; then, in the midst of all this we must fly to his deity as our refuge, that so, remaining unshaken amid all our depression, we may seek our consolation in no mortal creature or thing, nor anywhere but in

* De Præcip. quibusd. Virtut., p. 181.

† Specul. Ætern. Salut., p. 13.

‡ De Præcip. quibusd. Virtut., p. 175.

that word which Christ himself uttered, "Thy will be done," which words are the most agreeable of all to God; and he who can express this from the deep meaning of his heart, can never be disturbed or fall into any great depression; but he will experience in his very resignation a peculiar peace, because God is the end of the self-denial." In regard to tempting thoughts, he says:* "If in thy praying, or thy spiritual exercises, strange thoughts or images enter thy mind, whatever they may be, if they be not to the purpose before thee, be not disturbed by them, but turn away, at once, with the whole bent of thy mind and love to God. For although the hellish foe shows thee thy wares, still they will not stay by thee if thou art not inclined to them in thy affections. Therefore, if thou wouldst easily overcome all things, seek to keep thy soul ever directed upward and turned inward."

John Tauler was born in Strasburg, in the year 1290; in the year 1308 he entered the Dominican order. It is worthy of remark that he expresses himself somewhat doubtful whether it belongs to the true following after Christ to live by the alms of others instead of labouring for one's self. He says in a sermon:† "Had I known, when I was my father's son, what I now know, I would have lived upon his labour and not upon alms." He studied at Paris; and so we find him citing what was taught at the schools.‡ But, as is evident from what has been earlier said, the theology that is not to be learned from books was esteemed by him as of much higher value. We have already remarked how, in the time of the papal interdict, and of the ravages of the black death, he continued fearlessly to labour in promoting the spiritual good of the people. He preached at Cologne and in the different cities on the Rhine, and died in the year 1361. Tauler, as well as Ruysbroch, contended against the prevailing tendency to the external in religion. He says:§ "God gave all things that they might be a way to himself, and He only should be the end. Do you dream that it is a jest? Nay, verily. Your station makes you neither blessed nor holy. Neither

* *Specul. Ætern. Salut.*, p. 12.

† *Bas. ed. fol. 120 b; Fr. ed. II. p. 419.*

‡ See above, p. 555.

§ *Sermons, Bas. ed. fol. 146 a; Fr. ed. III. p. 120.*

my cowl, nor my bald head, nor my convent, nor my holy society, nor any of these things makes me holy." Accordingly he declaims against the various self-mortifications and voluntarily imposed exercises of penance, by which men destroy their minds and bodies instead of making any real progress in sanctification. Thus he says: "Some men are not content with the myrrh which God gives them, they would load their stomachs with still more, and give themselves the headache and sick fancies, and have suffered long and much, and fail to do things rightly, and little grace comes to them from it all, when they build on their own plan, whether in penance or abstinence, or in prayer or devotion."* In the case of prayer, he makes the inward disposition the main thing. Praying by memory, he says, is profitable only so far as it stirs up the man to this noble (internal) devotion; and then the noble incense bursts forth; and when that flows out, let the prayer of the lips boldly proceed.† He says again, that by love, the supreme virtue, all vows are paid; since the fulfilling of all which those vows proposed is contained in love. Now if a man has made many vows, to pray, to fast, to make pilgrimages and the like, he is exempt and free from all these, when he enters into an order; as soon as he is in the order, he is bound to all the virtues and to God. Rightly therefore do I also say here, that to however many things a man may have bound himself to God, if he comes into real true love, he is free from them all, so long as true sincerity of heart is in him.‡ Speaking of those who would be righteous by outward works, he says: "They abide in this, that they do great works, such as fasting, much watching, and praying; yet do not clearly see their foundation. They find their interest and themselves in sensual enjoyment, favour and disfavour. And hence are engendered unjust and incorrect judgments; and then many failings and imperfections, such as pride, outward or inward, bitterness or self-will, quarrelsomeness, and many faults of the like kind."§ He speaks against those who

* Bas. ed. fol. 8 a; Fr. ed. I. p. 141. † Ibid. 8 b; Fr. ed.

‡ Ibid. 17 a. [This sermon appears to be wanting in the Fr. edition.]

§ Bas. ed. fol. 19 b; Fr. ed. I. p. 192.

referred morality to the relations of this world, excluding the higher aspirations after that which is above the world, the craving that passes beyond things earthly to lay hold on eternal life. "These men," says he,* "stray away into the rational exercise of the virtues, and thus find such pleasure and delight in this, that they are kept at a distance from the truth which is nearest and highest, stopping short at the present pleasure, instead of seeking after the eternal God through all pleasure." He reprimands those who placed their dependence on saints or angels, instead of reposing their whole trust in God. He says:† "There are some spiritual men, who are not content to be without comfort. For rather than to be simply and truly without comfort, and found empty and naked, they would resort to heavenly creatures, saints and angels, and entertain these in their minds with a spiritual pleasure, and set these before them for a comfort. As, for example, *this* saint is loved by me above other saints, or *this* angel above other angels. And then if any one objects to this, declaring that it is an unpermitted thing, that it should not be done, they have small pleasure in this, perhaps they are displeased; and this is at once a wrong, and a great hindrance to thee in thy business with God." We have seen how Tauler regarded the pious observance of all outward rites prescribed by the church as a preparatory school for the highest stage of spirituality, of the contemplative religious life: how therefore these Friends of God were opposed to those who outwardly and arbitrarily cast off all external observances. The casting aside of these ordinances should not be a *purposed* thing; it should be a natural falling off of them; as if the internal development of the religious life had progressed to such a point, that the outward rites which were no longer needed as supports, must fall away of themselves. And here we may observe the difference between the men of this bent and the violent reformers, those fanatical Beghards, and the Bretbren of the Free Spirit. But we may remark also how easily the transition might be made from these principles to that application of them. We find the following passage in

* Bas. ed. fol. 19 b; Fr. ed. I. p. 192.

† Ibid. 20 a; Fr. ed. I. p. 194.

Tauler,* which begins with a beautiful comparison: "We gladly break off and strip away the leaves, to let the sun pour his rays, without hindrance, upon these young grapes. So all helps that become hindrances fall away from the Christian—images of saints, knowledge, exercises, and prayer, and all means. The man should not *cast* these aside, however, but wait till they fall off themselves, through divine grace; this is, when a man is trained up to a higher stage, beyond all his understanding." Tauler, moreover, opposes the one-sided contemplative bent, which despised the practical. He requires the union and mutual interpenetration of the two elements. He understood the dangers of those who, without matured experience, would betake themselves to the contemplative life alone. He looks upon the practical life as a needful probation; and says in this regard of the young people: "One should not lie down to repose in the noble country of contemplation. He may perhaps pass in there for a while, but he should fly back again, as long as he is not fully mature, and is still young and unpractised and imperfect."† Moreover, he speaks against the tendency of wanting to luxuriate continually in sweet feelings, and says:‡ "It is no great distress if a man is not always jubilant and in sweet enjoyment; for all this is but a chance gift of God, that is, when the essential thing of a devout temper abides in the man." He speaks of those who, when times of stumbling followed after pleasant enjoyments, knew not upon what to fix and steady themselves. "Their sweet emotions," says he,§ "have turned out a weak foundation on which they have been trusting, instead of trusting truly in God, solely and alone, in love and suffering." This luxuriating in sweet feelings was, according to him, the evil germ from which the tendency of those enthusiastic Friends of God, who had sunk down into pantheistic self-deification, had evolved itself, and he remarks:|| "There are some who so rest in the sweetness of enjoyment as to fall into an improper

* Bas. ed. fol. 21 b; Fr. ed. I. p. 199.

† Ibid. 7 a; Fr. ed. I. p. 135.

‡ Ibid. 134 a; Fr. ed. III. p. 218.

§ Ibid. 46 a; Fr. ed. II. p. 113.

|| Ibid. 48 a; Fr. ed. II. p. 121.

freedom." He defines it as a sinking back of nature into itself, finds in it therefore an intermixture of the natural and divine. It appears to him a self-constituted, artificial state of being, which he compares to the employment of a multiplicity of remedies, that hinder Nature in her own healthy and spontaneous reactions, and he observes: "In these pleasant moods and states Nature bends back upon herself with agility, and quietly awaits the result of that to which the man is, above all things, inclined, and abandons herself to security; and just that happens which I have heard from physicians, that it is not a good thing for men to use many drugs,* for, when Nature finds herself helped, she trusts to that and sits down and rests, and she thinks she has the right help, and works not so diligently as she otherwise does. But when she is uncertain of all help, she contrives, and works, and helps herself." He warns against turning the thoughts inward too much on one's self, against despondency under temptations, which ought to be regarded as a means designed for the purification of the soul. He says:† "Have good courage, then, and be joyful and not sorrowful nor melancholy, though wicked, impure thoughts may sometimes intrude into your minds; let them be as wicked as they may, pay no attention to them. For if they come up contrary to thy thoughts or wishes, so let them fall out again. And should this happen to thee, most of all in prayer and in thy approaches to God, let them alone in the name of God, and suffer this conflict and these impure suggestions right cheerfully and humbly and quietly by the will of God." So in the times of spiritual dearth, when the sensible presence of God is wanting, and the soul feels itself forsaken by Him, he warns men not to despair, but to recognise in this an appointment of Providence designed for the saving good of man, for the promotion of the divine life. "We must," says he,‡ "intend and seek God by himself. And this foretaste of the great true wedding many people would fain have, and complain that it cannot be. And if they experience no wedding on the deep

* [The Bas. ed. reads; *das sy vil aertzet hetten*, which doubtless signifies drugs. Ed.] † Bas. ed. fol. 134 a; Fr. ed. III. p. 217.

‡ Ibid. 31 a; Fr. ed. I. p. 266.

ground of their being, when they pray or perform other exercises, and find not God's presence, it vexes them; and this they do less, or less willingly, and say they have no experience of God. Therefore they grow weary of their pains-taking and praying. This a man should never do. We should never do a duty the less on such account; for God was present there, but we perceived him not. Yet he went secretly to the wedding. Where God is, there in truth is the wedding. And he cannot be away from it; where a man simply thinks of Him and seeks Him alone, there God must of necessity be, either sensibly or in a hidden manner." He adduces in illustration the case of the apostles. They must be deprived of *visible* intercourse with the Saviour; meantime they might have believed they were forsaken; but it was that they might be prepared for the invisible communion with the Saviour, and for the receiving of the Holy Ghost. "Children," he says,* "as to this matter, it is seriously to be considered by us, and we must understand that, to the beloved disciples of God and his beloved friends, the Holy Ghost could not be given till Jesus Christ had first gone away from them. Not at all different than is coldness, want of comfort, ineptitude, so that we feel heavy and slow to every good work, and cold and dark; for thus has Christ departed from us. If all men would see into this, and make it profitable and fruitful to themselves, it were a useful, noble, blessed, divine thing." In another place he says, after citing the words of Christ, John xvi. 7. "The holy disciples were then possessed, within and without, with the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, and he so filled up every corner of their being—heart, soul, sense, and power of body and mind—that the possession must be out, or must be away. If they were to come to the true, spiritual, inward comfort, this possession must needs be cut away from them, however sour and bitter it might be to them; they would otherwise have to abide at the lowest stage, and in the senses."† Accordingly he speaks of the various leadings of Providence connected with the internal

* Bas. ed. fol. 36 a; Fr. ed. II. p. 69.

† Ibid. 48 b; Fr. ed. II. p. 122.

development of the soul, to which men ought simply to resign themselves, instead of choosing their own way. He says:* “ God comes with terrible conflicts, and in wonderful events, and singular ways, which none can understand but he who experiences them. Men therefore have remarkable, mysterious sufferings among them, diverse forms of the bitter drug, so that they are at a loss which way to turn; but God knows well what he means by it all.” He gives prominence to trust in Christ as a means of obtaining victory over all temptations, and says:† “ When he (the devout man) cannot overcome the dogs he contends with, nor get rid of them, he should run in great haste to the tree of the cross and of the passion of our dear Lord Jesus Christ; there alone he may cleave asunder the heads of the dogs that assault him; that is, he there obtains the victory in all his conflicts, and is entirely delivered and rid of them.”

The third individual whose character deserves to be portrayed with some minuteness, was *Henry Suso* of Suabia, a Dominican. He was born in the year 1300, and died in 1365. He was the author of various writings, composed in the form of dialogues and in other forms, in the German language, and afterwards translated into Latin, in which writings also we may discern the religious bent of this class of the Friends of God. He is no less remarkable than Tauler for giving prominence to the mediation of Christ as necessary to the attaining to true communion with God, and was thus distinguished from those pantheistic mystics who, without any mediation, were for sinking directly into the depths of the divine essence. Thus he represents Christ as saying: “ No man may ascend to the divine heights, nor have any sweet foretaste of bliss, except he be first drawn by the image of my human lowliness and sorrow. The higher a man climbs without passing through my humanity, the lower he falls. My humanity is the way he should take, my sufferings the door through which he should press.”‡ The practical following after

* Bas. ed. fol. 8 a; Fr. ed. I. p. 141.

† Ibid. 28 b; Fr. ed. I. p. 161.

‡ In his “ Little book of Eternal Wisdom,” Comp. Diepenbrock: Suso’s Life and Writings. Regensburg, 1829, p. 249, (2nd ed. 1837, p. 181).

Christ was considered of more value by him than all transitory excitement of feeling. He makes Christ say: "No man better shows forth how near my suffering comes to him, than he who bears it with me in the exhibition of good works. Dearer to me is an empty heart, regardless of earthly loves, and constantly diligent in pursuing the next duty after working out the example of my sufferings, than if thou wert continually complaining to me, and honouring my sorrow with as many tears of grief as ever drops of rain fell from the skies; for that thou mightest follow me was the end for which I suffered the bitter death; though thy tears also are well-pleasing and acceptable." Patience in suffering seemed to him of more value than miracles, as he says:* "Never was there so much gazing at a knight who has come off well at the tournament, as there is gazing of all the heavenly host at a man who comes off well in suffering. All the saints stand sureties for a suffering man; for they have already experienced it before, and cry out with common mouth that it is no poison, but a wholesome drink. Patience in suffering is greater than calling the dead to life, or other miraculous signs; it is a narrow way which opens richly onward to the gate of heaven."

Among the religious appearances which grew out of these times of distress and of excitement in Germany, and extended into the fifteenth century, belong, too, the *processions of the Scourgers or Flagellants*. It was first in Italy, in the thirteenth century, that, amid the contests carried on with the wildest extravagance of passion between the party friendly to the pope, and the party who went with the emperor,—the Guelphs and Ghibellines,—strong feelings of remorse followed suddenly after the tumult of these passionate contests. Vast bodies of men, girded with ropes, marched in procession, with songs and prayer, through the cities and from one city to another, calling on the people to repent. All hostilities ceased. The momentary impression produced by these singular processions was powerful, though it did not last long. Such processions spread from Italy to other countries. In

* Life and Writings, p. 253, (2nd ed., p. 184).

Germany, in particular, the impression produced by the desolating ravages of the black death contributed to call forth such demonstrations; though even here, a lasting work of repentance by no means followed, in the case of most; but good men were forced to complain that avarice and every sort of selfish vice afterwards prevailed to a greater extent than ever.* Large bodies of men marched through Flanders, France, Germany, singing hymns and scourging themselves till the blood flowed freely. And as the civil magistrates and ecclesiastical authorities now found it necessary to interfere on account of the danger to civil and ecclesiastical order, and on account of the violation of public decency connected with the rapid spread of this fanatical tendency, Pope Clement VI., for example, forbidding these processions on penalty of the ban, it was necessarily driven (since those who were seized with this fanatical spirit would not abandon its impulse) into an opposition to the church which did not originally belong to it. The prevailing dissatisfaction with a corrupt church, and the opposition to that church which existed already in the age, impressed their own peculiar stamp on these appearances also; and in the next following times these processions took an heretical direction. Those who joined in them spoke of the corruptions of the church, predicted approaching judgments, announced that all the sacraments in the church were profaned by her pollutions and had lost their validity, that but one sacrament as they supposed remained, which was to copy, after their manner, the sufferings of Christ. Hence they were called *cruci fratres*. Many of them died at the stake.

* D'Achery, Spicil. III. 110: Nam homines fuerunt postea magis avari et tenaces, cum multo plura bona quam antea possiderent; magis etiam cupidi et per lites, brigas et rixas atque per placita seipsos conturbantes . . . Caritas etiam ab illo tempore refrigescere cœpit valde, et iniquitas abundavit cum ignorantia et peccatis.

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